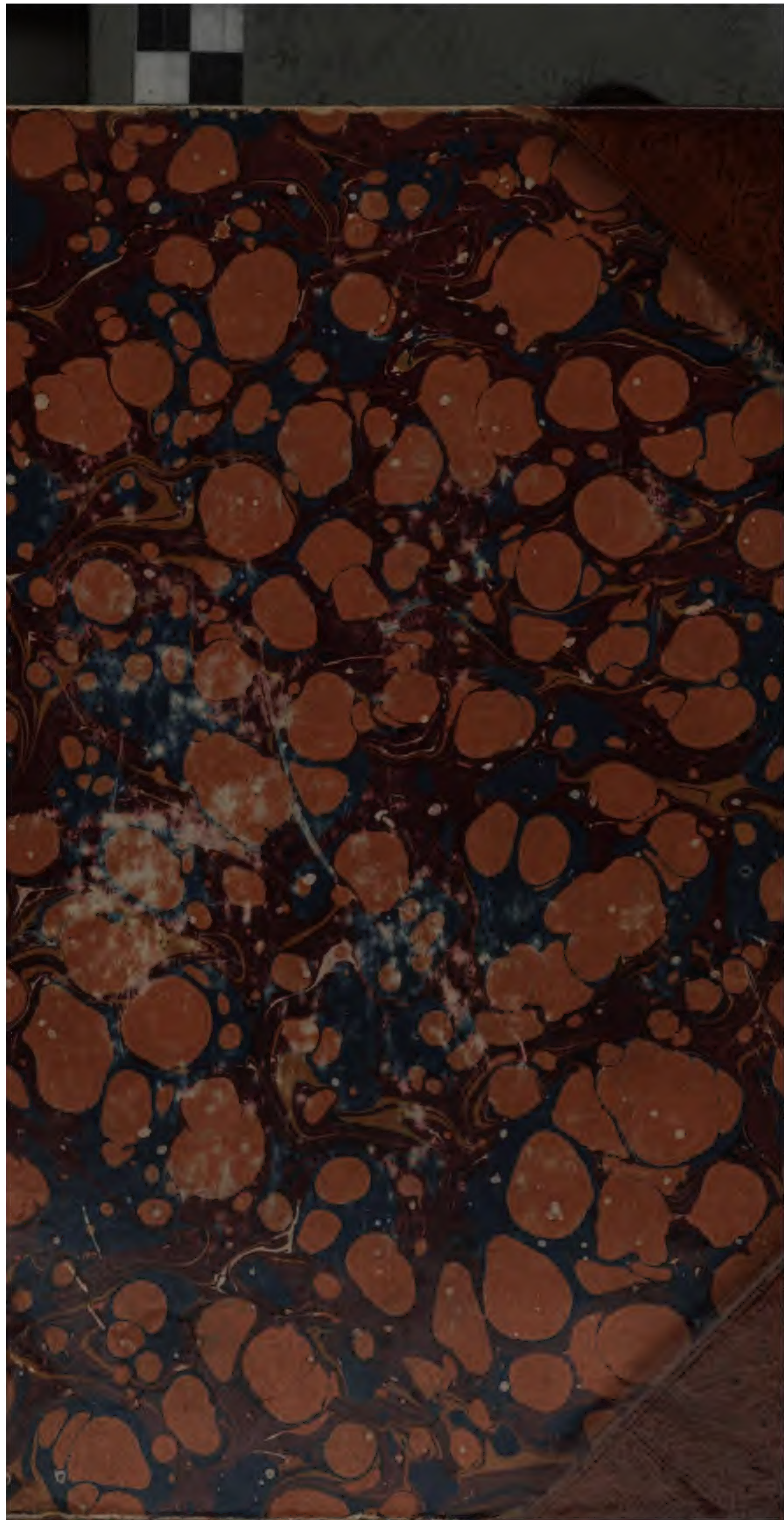
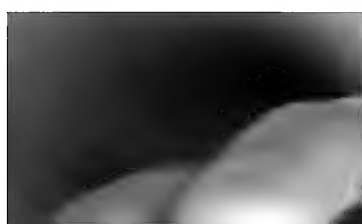


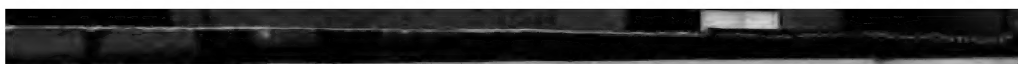










ANNALS

OF THE

HONORABLE EAST-INDIA COMPANY,

FROM THEIR

ESTABLISHMENT BY THE CHARTER

OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH,

1600,

TO

THE UNION OF THE LONDON AND ENGLISH

EAST-INDIA COMPANIES,

1707-8.

By JOHN BRUCE, Esq. M. P. and F. R. S.
Keeper of His Majesty's State Papers, and Historiographer to the Honorable East-India Company.

VOL. I.

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TO THE

HONORABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS

OF THE

UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO THE EAST-INDIES,

THE

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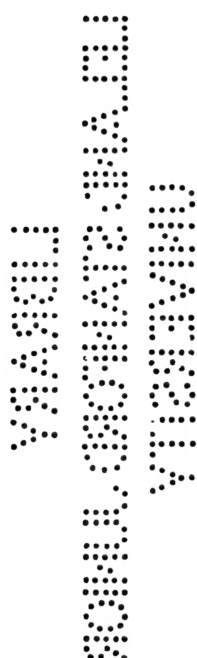
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED,

BY THEIR MOST OBEDIENT

AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

JOHN BRUCE.

East-India House,
4th June, 1810.



PREFACE.

THE Annals of the East-India Company, from their Establishment in 1600, to the Union of the London and English East-India Companies, in 1707-8, form a subordinate branch of the political and commercial History of England, and will unfold the rise and progress of the greatest commercial Association, which has appeared in any country, or in any age.

The evidence upon which this Review of East-India Affairs has proceeded, has been drawn from documents preserved among His Majesty's Archives, in the State-Paper Office, and from the Records of the Company, in the Indian Register Office; and, being printed under the authority of the Honorable

Court

Court of Directors, is submitted to them, to the Proprietors of East-India Stock, to the Legislature, and to the Public.

The events which this branch of commercial History ascertains, will explain the basis of the East-India Company's Rights, under their Charters, and of the Rights acquired during the early periods of their exclusive privileges of trade; and the knowledge of them may be useful to the Legislature, when these privileges shall again become a subject for deliberation and decision, and tend to fix the opinions of the Public, on a question of great national importance.

In the INTRODUCTION are traced the rise and progress of the Portuguese and Dutch establishments in the East-Indies; the leading characters of the Asiatic Sovereignties in the countries within the limits assigned to the London East-India Company; and the political and commercial relations, between England and the Maritime Powers of Europe, during the period when the direct trade, between

between England and the East-Indies, was first attempted and established.

Chapter I. will comprehend the rise and progress of the London East-India Company, from the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, in 1600, to the Restoration of their Charter, by King Charles II., in 1660-61; and will afford proofs of the enterprize and perseverance of this Company, in forming a valuable trade to the realm, and in preserving that trade, under the shifting and depressed aspects of the English Government.

Chapter II., after tracing the political and commercial relations of England, from the Restoration, in 1660-61, to the Revolution, in 1688-89, and the events affecting the Indian Sovereignties, in the countries in which the London East-India Company had established Factories, or seats of trade, will discover, in a similar manner, the perseverance of this Company, in maintaining their trade and privileges, and their expensive and hazardous efforts, to extend the commerce and navigation of the realm.

CHAPTER III., after referring to the political and commercial relations of England, from 1688-89, to 1707-8, will discover the sources and characters of the successive speculations for an open, and for a separate trade, which terminated in the establishment of a Second, or the English, East-India Company; and will bring under notice, the facts which satisfied the Legislature, and the Public, of the necessity of entrusting the East-India trade, to the exclusive management of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

To the Annals of each of these periods are subjoined Results, affording, from authentic evidence, the progressive aspects of the Company's Rights, under their Charters, to their Factories and Settlements, acquired by authorized purchase, or by grants from the Native Princes and States; and of the Rights conferred on them by the Legislature, and enjoyed as valuable privileges of trade. These real Rights of the Company, under their successive Charters, have been known, in their proceedings at home and abroad, under the general description of "*Dead Stock*," opposed to

to the large amounts vested in India Stock, in Shipping, in Exports, and in Imports, known under the opposite description of "*Quick Stock.*"

For more than a century, or from 1707-8 to the present time, the East-India Company have been recognized, by a series of Acts of the Legislature, to have a real property in their Chartered Rights, which are perpetual, and with succession; though it will again be for the wisdom of Parliament to decide, whether their exclusive privileges, founded on the solid basis of the experience of two centuries, shall be prolonged to them, or whether they must give way to exploded, or to specious, but hazardous, theories of commerce.

In submitting this Work to the Honorable the Courts of Directors and Proprietors of the East-India Company, I embrace this opportunity to express my acknowledgements to the Right Honorable the Earl of Liverpool (late His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department) for his permission to connect such information as could be collected

lected from the State Papers, with that which has been preserved in the Records of the Honorable East-India Company.

I have, also, to express my obligations to Mr. Jackson, the Keeper of the Indian Register Office, from whom I have received the most valuable communications; and to Mr. Lemon, of the State-Paper Office, who, from his facility in reading and transcribing ancient Manuscripts, has afforded me important assistance in the examination of the numerous Documents on which this work has been founded.

INTRODUCTION.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION ON THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE INTERCOURSE OF THE EUROPEAN MARITIME NATIONS WITH THE EAST-INDIES.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Commerce between Asia and Europe had, from the earliest ages, been carried on by a species of mixed navigation and of land carriage, to the shores of the Mediterranean; the eastern spices and stuffs were embarked at the ports of that sea, and thence diffused, by the traders of the Free States of Italy, over the rest of Europe.

Ancient commercial Intercourse between Europe and the East-Indies.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, discoveries had been rapidly making in mathematics, physics, and astronomy, and the results from them had produced those arts which facilitate distant navigation:—Hence Columbus discovered America to Spain, and Vasco de Gama, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope (1497), the circuitous navigation to the peninsula of India; and subsequently, by the same arts, the hitherto unexplored tracts in the Indian Seas, which opened the trade with the Eastern Islands and with China.

Modern commercial Intercourse between Europe and the East-Indies.

The valuable cargoes which the Portuguese fleets brought to Europe from the East-Indies, and the riches with which the sales of them filled the treasury of the great Emanuel, lowered the price of eastern commodities in the Italian markets,

Immediate effects of the Discoveries of the Portuguese on Indian Trade.

 and

and created a spirit for distant navigation and commerce, among the rising maritime states in the north of Europe.

When the Portuguese, by their perseverance and skill, acquired seats of trade and dominions on the East and West coasts of the peninsula of India, they found it necessary to establish guards at their factories, both to protect the districts which had been ceded to them, and the commercial privileges which they had acquired from the Native Powers, partly from the magnitude of their purchases, and partly from the impression of their superior military and naval skill.

By this means, for more than a century, they engrossed almost the whole of the Asiatic trade, depressed the ancient limited commerce of the Italian Republics, and continued undisturbed, both in their commerce, and in their Asiatic possessions, by the rivalships of the other European nations.

The civil wars in the Netherlands, which depressed the commerce of Antwerp, created that of the States General of the United Provinces; and, towards the close of the sixteenth century, induced the Dutch to make several bold, though unsuccessful, attempts to discover a north-east passage, by sea, to India and to China. This disappointment did not depress a people, who, though slow, were persevering in their character:—they, therefore, successively equipped considerable fleets, in 1595, 1598, and 1602, which doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and notwithstanding the opposition they experienced from their enemies (for Spain and Portugal were at this time united) brought home that wealth, which formed one of the

resources

resources for maintaining those fleets and armies, which were destined to uphold their independence in Europe.

By these enterprizes they acquired, not only a share of the trade, but made conquests of several of the Portuguese settlements in India, and thus (during the union of Portugal with Spain) became the rivals, and, ultimately, the subverters of the Portuguese power in Asia.

The political and commercial connexion between England and the Low Countries, had subsisted for centuries, and the successive Kings of England had uniformly protected the degrees of independence which the Seventeen Provinces, and the House of Burgundy enjoyed; and, by this policy, kept open the commercial exchanges, on a large scale, between this realm, the Netherlands, and the Hanseatic League, more particularly with the city of Antwerp.

During the reigns of Charles V, and Francis I, the political object of England was to create and maintain a balance between the greater powers on the continent of Europe; and the commercial object was, to preserve the intercourse between England and the ports of the Netherlands, considered to be the inlets to the trade of Germany.

At the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the whole of the Netherlands were subject to the crown of Spain; and it was the immediate interest of that wise sovereign to favor, according to circumstances, that crown, or the crown of France, that the preponderance might, upon all occasions, be in that scale into which she might throw her influence. By this line of conduct the

the Queen protected the independence of her own dominions, and kept open the commercial communications of her subjects with the South and North of Europe.

Connected with this policy were the peculiar circumstances under which Queen Elizabeth was placed, both at home and abroad:—at home, she was the head of the Protestant interest, and had to depress the rivalships for her crown; abroad, she had to protect the Protestant religion, both in the north of Germany, and in the Netherlands, where the Protestants held the more immediate commercial relations with her subjects. It is, perhaps, this view of the Queen's policy which has deservedly assigned to her the character of one of the wisest sovereigns, who, in any age, has wielded the sceptre of these realms; for, besides balancing the power of her mightier neighbours, by not allowing the one to be paramount to the other, she encouraged those internal checks on their government, which diverted their attention from schemes of aggrandizement, and more particularly from attempts to interrupt the tranquillity of her own kingdoms, or to obstruct the resources from which she drew the wealth, by which she was to maintain her naval and military importance.

This outline of the Queen's policy very early led to a secret, and (as will be explained in the sequel) to the open alliance which she formed with the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands.

The whole of the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, at first, by manly yet dutiful means, endeavoured to obtain from Philip, their sovereign, the acknowledgement of their civil,

as

as well as of their religious privileges; but, after his violence had kindled a civil war, and, particularly when that violence had depressed the commerce of Antwerp, and driven its merchants and its trade from this emporium, either to the Dutch Netherlands, or to England, the alliance between England and the States General became indispensable to both.

The industrious and brave Dutch were, at this crisis, directed by the talents of the great Princes of Orange: their leaders and their inclination, therefore, taught them to rely on the protection of England. The Queen, thus, connected the liberties of the Dutch with the independence of her own dominions; and, by a provident foresight, decided, that should the whole of the Seventeen Provinces be reduced to absolute submission to the crown of Spain, that crown would obtain, not only the means of overbalancing the power of France, but could obstruct, if not finally destroy, the commercial intercourse between England and the Netherlands, and Germany; prevent the sales of her most valuable exports, made up of English staples or manufactures, or the re-exportation of foreign merchandize; and, at all events, would place the trade of England under the control of the crown of Spain, which would thus become absolute sovereign of the Netherlands, and whose plan for an universal monarchy, in Europe, she might not any longer be able, either to keep in check by foreign connexions, or to depress by her own naval or military means.

Besides the immediate political and commercial relations between England and Holland, the spirit of commercial enter-

prize

prize had been carrying the English exchanges to other emporiums in Europe. By treaties, as early as 1308, commercial and political relations had been formed with the crown of Portugal, but, more particularly, during the century in which it may be considered to have monopolized the trade to the East-Indies. (1) The trade, during this period, between the two countries, consisted of assortments of English staples and manufactured produce, sent to be exchanged for Portuguese produce, and a proportion of Eastern articles, particularly spices, which, at this period, were used as a principal article of luxury;—events which could not fail of producing a desire in the English nation to become the importers from the East-Indies, of commodities which they had hitherto obtained by circuitous merchandize.

The knowledge, also, of the geography and of the navigation of these distant countries was daily becoming more general, and the practicability of a direct trade to them was rendered more obvious, though it was foreseen, that interference with a political and commercial ally, in this exclusive seat of their greatest trade, might lead to difficulties, against which so wise a sovereign as Queen Elizabeth had to provide.

The trade to the Levant, also, had been early cultivated by the English, and had been the subject of negociation and of treaties. It recently had been made over to a company, trading partly on a joint, and partly on a separate stock.

Into

(1).—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iii, page 107.

Into this trade the English staple produce and manufactures had been received; and the returns were partly made up of assortments of the produce of the countries at the different ports in the Levant, and partly of Indian produce, which had been brought by the ancient routes of the Red Sea, and of the Persian Gulf, and by land carriage, to the Italian Republics.

Historical information required to unfold the sources of the English East-Indian trade and settlements.

It therefore becomes a necessary preliminary, to introduce the annals of the London East-India Company with a disquisition on the following subjects, that the whole of the circumstances which accompanied the rise and progress of the English trade to the East-Indies may be brought to bear upon the annals, and on the successive situations of the London East-India Company.

First :—To bring under notice the rise and progress of the Portuguese trade in Asia, from 1497, the date of its commencement, to 1660, as, during this period, its rivalship to the Dutch, and its opposition to the English, involved its transactions in the East-Indies, with those of the London Company, in the countries to which their equipments were directed.

Second :—To review the rise of the Dutch East-India trade from 1595, the chronology of which is so nearly coincident with that of the London East-India Company, that from the leading events in the progress of the Dutch, when they obtained settlements and factories, and had a decided pre-eminence, both in power and in Indian commerce, over the Portuguese and English, we may have facts, from which to estimate the successive oppositions with which the London Company had to contend.

 Third:

Third :—To take a general review of the sovereignties and states within the limits of the East-India Company, not only at the period when it was established, but to the accession of Aurungzebe to the throne of Delhi, that we may ascertain the difficulties which the London Company had to encounter from the Native Princes or States, in connexion with the rivalships of the European maritime nations, who were dependent on the fluctuations of power in India.

Fourth :—The knowledge of these subjects would form but imperfect preliminaries to the annals of the London Company, unless those annals shall be prefaced by a review of the political or commercial relations of England with the European maritime states, participating in the East-India trade. It is in those relations, only, that we can trace the powers which the crown possessed to grant authority to that body of its subjects, which it incorporated as a commercial Company, to employ funds and send equipments, to create a direct trade between England and the East-Indies; or the relief which it could afford them, under the successive aggressions of the maritime nations, having trade or settlements within the limits of the London Company. The information on this interesting subject will be drawn from original public documents, in the series of years from the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to the restoration of the monarchy under King Charles II.

Sketch of the rise and progress of the Portuguese commerce and power in

I. The Portuguese, in 1497, under Vasco de Gama, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and having navigated along the Coast of Mozambique, reached Melinda, where, by the aid

aid of an Indian pilot, they crossed the Indian Sea, and arrived at Calicut, on the Malabar Coast, on the 18th May 1498 (1), from which port, after a profitable traffic, this fleet returned, by the same route, to Lisbon, in September 1499.

the East-Indies, before the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal.

The discovery of this new trade, by a navigation, long indeed and circuitous, compared with ancient routes, offered the means of acquiring riches, by imports of large quantities of Indian produce, hitherto considered in Europe as administering rather to the luxury of courts, than to the luxury of nations: A new scene of industry and adventure was thus disclosed, and the nation which exclusively possessed it, did not calculate more on riches in imagination, than on riches, and on power combined with them, which it acquired in reality.

The difficulties which the Portuguese had experienced in their first adventure, from the jealousies which the native powers felt against strangers, at the ports which they had visited, particularly those of the Zamorin, on the Malabar Coast, induced them, in their second voyage to India, in March 1501, to send out thirteen vessels, and fifteen hundred soldiers, under the command of Don Alvarez Cabral. (2)

In this voyage Cabral discovered and settled the Brazils, from which he proceeded to the Coast of Mozambique, and thence to Calicut, where he established the first Portuguese

 factory

(1)—Histoire des Découvertes et Conquestes des Portugais, par Lafitau, vol. i, page 124.—— Sousa Oriente Conquestado, page 2.

(2)—Histoire des Découvertes et Conquestes des Portugais, par Lafitau, vol. i, page 157.

factory in India, though in a short time it was destroyed. (1) From this place he extended his trade to Cochin, Coulan, and Cananore, and then returned to Europe, and, in the homeward passage, discovered the Island of St. Helena. (2)

The Portuguese having discovered the passages to the East-Indies and to South America, their equipments were enlarged, in proportion as the certainty of the returns increased.

Following the fleets, however, which went with Vasco de Gama, in his second voyage, in 1502, consisting of a squadron of twenty sail, we find, that after endeavouring to bring the Zamorin to terms at Calicut, he formed an alliance with the kings of Cananore and Cochin, to defend them against the Zamorin, whom they had acknowledged as their superior lord, on condition, that these lesser chiefs should grant establishments at their ports, and privileges of trade to the Portuguese. He then returned to Lisbon, in 1503. (3)

The next Portuguese fleet proceeded in 1503, with the object of commerce only, and to blockade the two gulfs; but Alphonso Albuquerque, who commanded the detachment of this fleet sent to the Malabar Coast, found that the Zamorin had made war on the king of Cochin, in revenge for his having entered into an alliance with the Portuguese.

Albuquerque landed his small force at Cochin, defeated the Zamorin, and obtained permission to erect a fortress at that port, the first which the Portuguese had in India, and which may be considered

(1)—Lafitau, vol. i, pages 157 to 168.
(2)—Ibid. . . . . 172 — 181.
(3)—Ibid. . . . . 182 — 196.

considered as the real foundation of their power in the East-Indies;—he then concluded a treaty with the Zamorin, re-established the Portuguese factory at Calicut, settled a trade at Coulan, and a factory at St. Thomé, and returned to Portugal in 1504, leaving Don Edward Pacheco to defend these establishments. (1)

These events induced the King of Portugal to equip a large fleet, in 1505, and to send out Don Francis Almeida, to reside in India, as viceroy. The first object of this officer, on his arrival, was to compel the chiefs of different Indian ports to receive a factory and garrison in them, and to deliver the produce, at such prices as the Portuguese might fix, particularly at Onore and Batticolo, which belonged to the King of Visiapore; he next concluded a treaty with the chiefs of Onore and Cananore, where he built forts; thence he went to Cochin, where he established a king under the protection of the crown of Portugal. (2)

For a considerable time the object of this viceroy was to form alliances with the lesser chiefs, or kings, on the Malabar Coast, who hitherto had acknowledged a dependency on the Zamorin, with the view of establishing the Portuguese in the country of this chief.

In the year 1506, a fleet of sixteen vessels was sent from Lisbon, under Tristian D'Acunha and Alphonso Albuquerque, with the object of establishing the Portuguese power on the Coast

(1)—Lafitau, vol. i, pages 198 to 223.
(2)—Ibid................266 — 280,

Coast of Africa, so as to command the navigation of the Red Sea, and to exclude the Indian traders from it. The former of those officers having effected this object, arrived on the Malabar Coast, and assisted the viceroy, Almeida, in reducing the Zamorin; the latter directed his course to the Persian Gulf, and took possession of the Isle of Ormus, in September 1507, where he built a citadel, with the object of obtaining the command of the Persian Gulf: the Portuguese conceiving that, by these measures, connected with their conquests on the Malabar Coast, they could engross the whole of the trade, and acquire considerable territories on the coast of India. (1)

This island, however, in a short time (though the citadel was occupied by the Portuguese garrison) revolted, and Albuquerque failed in reducing it, from a mutiny in his fleet, his officers having, without his consent, sailed for Goa, to make their complaints to Almeida. Albuquerque retired to Socotora. (2)

At this juncture a new enemy appeared, in the Caliph of Egypt, to dispute the sovereignty of the Indian seas with the Portuguese. With great labour the materials for building a fleet were brought from Alexandria to Suez; the fleet was equipped and placed under the orders of Emir Hocem, who defeated the Portuguese squadron at Chaul, under the son of the viceroy. This victory raised the spirits of the Indian powers, who hoped they might be able to resist the Portuguese; the viceroy, however,

(1)—Lafitau, vol. i, pages 281 to 369.
(2)—Ibid................382.

ever, collecting the Portuguese fleet, sailed along the coast, took Dabul near Chaul, attacked and totally dispersed the Caliph's fleet, near Diu, in February 1509, and compelled him to make peace with the Portuguese. It was in this situation of the Portuguese affairs, that the celebrated Alphonso Albuquerque was appointed to succeed Almeida, as viceroy of India. (1)

Hitherto the Portuguese had met with no effectual opposition on the continent of India; but Emanuel, King of Portugal, appears to have been aware, that the extent of his Indian dominions required a person of high rank, in his service, to defend them, and to command his ships:—with this view, a fleet of fifteen ships and three thousand troops sailed, in 1509, under the command of Don Fernando Coutinho, marechal of Portugal, with instructions to co-operate with the viceroy

The first great operation was an attack on Calicut, to reduce the Zamorin to dependence. The resistance was greater than had been expected; the marechal was killed, and the remainder of the fleet took shelter at Cochin:—but their reception proved, that the inhabitants at that port, though allies, had been rendered such by fear only. Albuquerque, though wounded, was determined to retrieve the Portuguese character by some bold measure:—he therefore, in February 1510, attacked and made himself master of Goa, which he fortified, and rendered the seat of the Portuguese power in the East. (2)

The loss of the Island of Ormus, though the citadel still held out, in 1508, had created an alarm at Lisbon, and produced

(1)—Lafitau, vol. i, pages 385 to 432.
(2)—Ibid. .... ii, ... 3—105.

of the establishment of the Portuguese power at Diu, and of their settlement at Chaul, nothing had been added to their possessions after the recal of Albuquerque.[1]

Emanuel, King of Portugal, was succeeded, in 1521, by John III, who appointed Don Edward Meneses governor of India; but no event of consequence occurred, during the government of this viceroy, except an ineffectual attempt of the natives to dislodge the Portuguese from the citadel of Ormus, and some petty wars with the King of Acheen.[2]

It was at this time, that the Emperor Charles V. became jealous of the Portuguese power in the Indian Seas; and, in 1519, sent out the celebrated Magellan, who discovered the westward passage to the East-Indies, by sailing through the straits at the southern extremity of America; and his fleet having reached the Island of Tidore, in the Moluccas, left a few men on it, and, in 1521, returned to Europe. It is not improbable that this circumstance induced King John to send out, in 1524, the celebrated Vasco de Gama, with sixteen ships and three thousand men, to consolidate that power in the East-Indies of which he had been the founder.[3] He reached Cochin, but died soon after his arrival, and was succeeded by Don Henrique Meneses, who had come from Europe with him.[4] The Portuguese, in the East-Indies, after the death of Albuquerque,

(1)—Lafitau, vol. ii, pages 317 to 376.
(2)—Ibid. .... iii, ... 1 — 26.
(3)—Ibid. .... 46 — 60.
(4)—Ibid. .... 64 — 66.

Albuquerque, appear, notwithstanding the large reinforcements sent to them from Europe, to have been rather employed in defending the possessions they had acquired, than in extending their power; for, at this juncture, they were besieged in the citadel of Calicut, by the Zamorin, and notwithstanding the bravery with which it was defended, it must have fallen, had not the viceroy arrived to its relief. (1) During the government of Don Henrique Meneses, who died in 1526, and of his immediate successors, the principal occurrences were disputes almost leading to revolts, between their servants, and the expulsion of the Spaniards from Tidore and the Moluccas. These disputes continued for several years, when the King sent Don Nugno D'Acunha, in 1529, with eleven vessels and three thousand troops, and with full power to restore order in the Portuguese settlements, who found it necessary to arrest the governor and his principal officers, and to send them prisoners to Lisbon, that he might re-establish tranquillity and regular government.(2)

In 1530, the natives expelled the Portuguese from the Island of Ternate. (3) In 1531, the viceroy, with two detached squadrons, burned the principal towns, from Diu to the Red Sea; one of his squadrons reduced Daman; and, by treaty with the King of Cambaya, obtained possession of Bassein, which he fortified, and, in 1536, built a strong citadel at Diu, by permission of the King of Cambaya. (4) In 1538, the

 Grand

(1)—Lafitau, vol. iii, pages 66 to 94.

(2)—Ibid.................100 — 211.

(3)—Ibid.................221 — 238.

(4)—Ibid.................239 — 286.

Grand Seignior fitted out a strong fleet from Suez, and besieged Diu; but, after repeated assaults, was repulsed with loss. The successive appointments of viceroys, and the large fleets and increased number of military forces sent from Portugal to India, fully evince the decline of their power, and that the inhabitants, recovering from their first alarm, were acquiring that knowledge of the art of war, which endangered the Portuguese settlements, at which their oppressions had rendered the natives almost desperate.

In 1538, Don Garcia de Norogna was appointed viceroy, and sailed with eleven vessels and seven thousand troops; but, with the exception of raising the siege of Diu, and again forming a treaty with the Zamorin, and equipping a fleet to act against Suez, which miscarried, nothing memorable occurred, till his successor, Don Martin de Sousa, arrived, in 1542, whose character, for cruelty and avarice, little qualified him to restore the Portuguese interests. With this governor, the celebrated Father Francis Xavier, the Jesuit missionary, arrived in India, with the object of converting the natives to Christianity, that the influence of the Church might more effectually reconcile them to the Portugeuse government.(1)

Don Martin de Sousa was recalled, in 1545, and succeeded by Don Juan de Castro, during whose government the defence of the Portuguese settlement at Diu, against the second siege of that place by the King of Cambaya, in 1546, appears to be the only transaction of importance;(2) except his rebuilding the citadel,

(1)—Sousa Oriente Conquistado, page 19.
(2)—Lafitau, vol. iii, pages 300 to 412.

citadel, after the siege.[1] He died in 1548, and was succeeded by Don Garcia de Su, who was, in the following year, succeeded by Don George Cabral.[2]

During the administration of Cabral, the Portuguese power was declining rapidly, and, in 1550, Don Alphonso de Norogna was sent out, with five vessels and two thousand men, to endeavour to retrieve it. The high expectations formed of this viceroy were not realized, his transactions being confined to an expedition to Ceylon, to support the interests of one of its chiefs; and obliging the Turkish fleet, which had taken Muscat, and were besieging Ormus, to retire. In 1554, Don Pedro Mascaregnas was appointed his successor.[3] This viceroy died soon after his arrival, and was succeeded by Francisco Baretto, who held the government for four years only:—though he sent out several squadrons to extend the Portuguese acquisitions, they remained as he had found them.[4]

In 1558, John, King of Portugal, died, and was succeeded by Sebastian. The Asiatic power of Portugal having declined, during the latter part of the preceding reign, Sebastian, on his accession, determined to re-establish it, by appointing Don Constantine Braganza, one of the royal family, to be viceroy, and vesting him with the fullest authority. During the four years of his administration, he appears to have directed his views to the forming a factory, and building a fortress at Daman, and to

(1)—Lafitau, vol. iv, page 2.
(2)—Ibid.......... pages 35 to 39.
(3)—Ibid.............. 100 — 171.
(4)—Ibid............... 173 — 194.

to the reducing the King of Jafnapatam to be tributary, and building a fort at Manaar.

In 1562 he was recalled, and Don Francis Coutigno appointed viceroy; but neither he, nor his successor, Don Antonio de Norogna, effected any change, except the taking of Mangalore, and building a fortress for its protection.

In 1560, Don Louis D'Ataidé revived the Portuguese power, and placed it on a more solid basis than it had been since the death of Albuquerque. He reduced Onore and Barcelore, and formed alliances with the native powers in the Decan.

The union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal the source of the fall of the Portuguese trade and power in the East-Indies.

The quick successions of viceroys exposed the vigorous efforts of one, to the errors of his successors, particularly during the administration of Baretto, from 1574 to 1576, and during that of Don Diego de Meneses, to 1579. At this last juncture, when the Portuguese power had almost been dissolved, Don Louis D'Ataidé was sent out a second time to be viceroy. Though he lived only one year, by his exertions he restored vigor to the government in India; but dying in 1580, the same year in which King Sebastian was killed at the battle of Larache, in Africa, the crown of Portugal was annexed to that of Spain, and the Portuguese interests, in India, left to their fate;—for they ceased to be the principal object of attention to that sovereignty in Europe, which had created them. (1)

It would be unnecessary to trace beyond these their first establishments, the situation of the Portuguese power in the East, after their union with Spain, in 1580, under Philip II, an

(1)—Lafitau, vol. iv. pages 200 to 388.

an event which damped their national character and spirit of adventure, and, in a great measure, expatriated the Portuguese in Asia, from the Portuguese in Europe, now forming only a dependency on the crown of Spain. From this period, except obtaining possession of the Island of Macao, in 1586, as a station for the China trade, no event occurred, beyond the defences which they were obliged to make against the Dutch equipments, till Portugal again became, in 1640, a separate kingdom:—an enumeration, therefore, of the Portuguese possessions in the East-Indies, at the period when the London Company obtained its first charter, which precluded them from interference with European powers in amity with the Queen, will give an obvious view of the difficulties which the first English equipments had to experience, in opening a direct trade between England and the East-Indies.

Portuguese settlements and trade in the East-Indies, at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Following, therefore, a geographical line, we find the Portuguese, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, possessed of the ports which have been enumerated, *viz.* of Muscat, in Arabia; of the Island of Ormus, at the entrance of the Gulf of Persia, and of Bussora, at its extremity; of the forts of Diul, on the Indus, and of Diu, in the Guzerat; of a fortified factory, at Daman; of the town and castle of Chaul, and of a factory at Dabul; of the city of Bassein, the Island of North Salsette, and the town of Tannah; of the town and fort of Goa, which they fortified and made the centre of their commerce and the seat of their power; of a factory at Onore, at Barcelore, at Mangalore, at Cananore, and of the town of Calicut; of a

factory

factory at Cranganore, and of the port of Cochin, which they had fortified; of a factory at Coulan, at Quiloa, and at Taccatra; stations which obtained for them the exclusive command of the trade on the whole of the Malabar Coast. They had also (as has already been observed) established themselves on the Coast of Ceylon, and fortified Jafnapatam. On the Coromandel Coast, they had stations at Negapatam, Meliapore or St. Thomé; and though it does not appear that they had been allowed to fortify their factories in Bengal, they had established commercial stations, or houses of trade, in that province. They had also factories, or liberty of trade, at Pegu, and traded up the river Martaban, a station at Junkselon; and had taken possession of, and fortified, the town of Malacca, considering this station to be of the utmost importance, as commanding the straits between the Indian and Chinese Seas. They do not seem to have made establishments of any consequence on the Islands of Sumatra, or Java; and this circumstance, perhaps, accounts for those islands being first resorted to by the Dutch and by the London East-India Companies. (1)

The conquests of the Dutch, the avowed enemies and the opponents of the Portuguese in the East (the Portuguese settlements not being reinforced by naval, or military aids), had been so rapid and successful, that they were enabled, in 1635, to expel them from the Island of Formosa, which seemed a favorable station for commerce with China. At this juncture, also, the Dutch fitted out a fleet, and sent forces from Batavia to Ceylon, and

(1)—Sousa, Oriente Conquistado.—— Lafitau, &c.

and succeeded, in 1638, in expelling the Portuguese from that island, and thus engrossed the trade in cinnamon, and in the finer spices of the Moluccas and Bandas; an event which, combining great gains from monopoly, with jealousies of the other European powers, particularly the English, will be found to have been the source of many struggles in India, between these maritime powers, at the time when their common interests in Europe were strictly uniting them.

The separation of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, not an event which revived or restored the trade and power of the Portuguese in the East-Indies.

Portugal, in 1640, became again a separate sovereignty; but the adventurous spirit of this distinguished people had been broken by their union with Spain, and though again an independent kingdom, it did not possess resources to recover its ancient power in the East-Indies. Having been driven by the Dutch, in 1641, from Japan, and, in a few years afterwards, from most of their other settlements in the East-Indies, though they had expelled the Dutch from the Brazils, Portugal and Holland compromised their reciprocal losses and advantages, and, by treaty, in 1661, agreed to ratify their respective rights in the East-Indies, and in America, on the basis of the *Uti possidetis.* (1)

This outline of the Portuguese progress has been brought down to the period when the London Company's privileges were renewed, on the restoration of King Charles II, that a knowledge of the facts regarding the principal European nations, having interests in the East, may serve to illustrate the domestic oppositions which the Company had to meet, and to resist, at the period when the government of Great Britain was

 convulsed,

(1)—Lafitau, Histoire des Découvertes et Conquestes des Portugais.—— Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 464.

convulsed, and, for a time, overset by republican licentiousness in an age when speculative principles of liberty were buoyed up by misguided religious enthusiasm.

Sketch of the rise and progress of the Dutch commerce and power in the East-Indies.

II.—It will be proper to review the rise of the Dutch East-India Company, from 1595 (the chronology of which so nearly coincided with that of the London East-India Company), that from the leading events in the progress of the Dutch, when they obtained trade and factories, and had a decided pre-eminence, both in power and in Indian commerce, over the Portuguese and English, we may have facts from which to estimate the successive oppositions with which the London East-India Company had to contend.

Portugal became a dependency of Spain in 1580, at the period when the civil wars in the Low Countries commenced, which must be dated from the Union of the Seven Provinces, at Utrecht, in 1579:—it was, therefore, the obvious policy of Philip II. to exclude his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, from intercourse with the Portuguese settlements in the East-Indies. This prohibition, instead of depressing the adventurous spirit of the Hollanders, who had become acquainted with the large gains of the Portuguese, in the spice trade, had the opposite effect. The Dutch, previously to this event, had made several unsuccessful attempts to discover a north-east passage to the East-Indies; but, at the close of the sixteenth century, when the great Prince Maurice guided their councils, as well as their enterprizes, they redoubled their efforts to open a trade with the East-Indies.

Houtman,

Houtman, a native of Holland, who had made several voyages to India, in Portuguese ships, was confined at this time, for debt, at Lisbon. This navigator offered to the merchants of Amsterdam, if they would remit a sum sufficient to procure his release, that he would conduct a fleet by the Cape of Good Hope, and introduce his countrymen to the Indian commerce. Houtman sailed in 1595, with four ships, and arrived at Bantam, where the Portuguese were at war with its king: and for the assistance which he afforded to this chief, he obtained liberty to build a factory, the first which the Dutch had in the East-Indies, and returned to Europe with three of his ships richly laden with spices and other Indian produce.(1)

The success of Houtman produced several associations in the Netherlands, which, in 1597, were formed into what was termed "The Society for Trade to distant Countries." Van Neck, in 1598, sailed with a fleet, and strengthened the Dutch factory at Bantam. In the same year, Warwyk, with four ships, commenced the spice trade at Amboyna and Ternate, and Heemskeerk, with seven ships, at the Bandas:—Van Noord established also commercial stations on the peninsula of India:—In 1599, Van Carden had a similar success in Sumatra; and Van Neck opened a trade with the Coast of China, as did Spilbergen in the following year, with Ceylon.(2)

 In

(1)—Valentyn, Oost Indien, vol. i, page 171.—Nieuwe Beschryving, vol. i, page 6.—Richesse de la Hollande, vol. i, page 35.

(2)—Valentyn, vol. i, pages 172 to 185.

Establishment of the Dutch East-India Company, and progress of its armaments, to the truce of Antwerp, (1609).

In 1602, the States General found it expedient to consolidate the several societies of East-India adventurers, into one, and to constitute, by placart, or patent, the Dutch East-India Company, with exclusive privileges of trade for twenty years. This Company commenced the trade on a joint stock, or capital, of 6,440,200 guilders; or, taking the guilder at 1s. 8d, about £536,600.(1) The first fleets of this joint company attempted a trade on the Malabar Coasts, nearly at the same time with the first arrivals of the London Company's ships at Surat, from which the Portuguese, by every effort, endeavoured to exclude both. The Dutch joint stock having enabled their company to fit out large fleets, in 1603 they made an ineffectual attempt to dislodge the Portuguese from Mozambique and Goa, opened a communication with the Island of Ceylon, succeeded in expelling them from the Islands of Amboyna and Tidore, in the Moluccas, and, by degrees, engrossed the whole trade of the Spice Islands.(2)

The large equipments of the Dutch, on which they embarked considerable proportions of military force, under the most experienced and brave of their commanders, to garrison any places they might take, enabled them to conquer the Moluccas and Bandas.

This company also fixed establishments in Sumatra and Java, in which island, at Jaccatra, they afterwards built Batavia, and made it the seat of their government, and the centre of their trade.

(1)—Nieuwe Beschryving, vol. i, page 7, on the authority of Groot Placaart Boek, vol. iv, page 1327.

(2)—Valentyn, vol. i, page 192.

trade. As the Portuguese ceased to receive reinforcements, the Dutch were enabled to fix factories, at Pullicat, Masulipatam, and Negapatnam, on the Coromandel Coast; on the coasts of the Island of Ceylon; and at Cranganore, Cananore and Cochin, on the Malabar Coast; and thence pushed their commercial agencies to Bussora, and the Coasts of the Persian Gulf.(1)

The large dividends of the Dutch Company to the proprietors of stock, from 1602 to 1609, arose from the profits of their imports, and coincided with the existing political situation of Europe:—France, and England, at this period, supported the Dutch to balance the power of Spain; and Spain, exhausted by a long series of wars, in the Low Countries, was unable to continue such struggles, and, at the same time, to send the necessary fleets and forces, to protect her dominions in the West-Indies and South America. These events produced a truce, for twelve years, between Spain and Holland, by which, though the independence of the Dutch was not directly acknowledged, it was, in fact, recognized, and that industrious people placed in circumstances to prosecute their schemes in the East-Indies, that they might raise funds to discharge their public debts, and accumulate resources, for maintaining their independence, when this truce should expire.(2)

That this truce did not interrupt the efforts of the Dutch in the East-Indies, appears from the success of their agents in the Islands of Japan, in 1611, who, notwithstanding the opposition of

(1)—Valentyn, vols. i. and ii.—Richesse de la Hollande, vol. i.

(2)—Valentyn, vol. i.—Richesse de la Hollande, vol. i, page 161.

of the Spanish-Portuguese, obtained liberty of trade in that country; though, in the sequel, it will be found, that this trade was one from which gains were rather anticipated, than realized. — The favorite object of the Dutch, at this time, was, if possible, to monopolize the whole of the spice trade; and, indeed, if the accounts of the profits in Europe, by the importation of spices, can be relied on, the spices formed the most valuable article in the assortment of an East-Indian cargo.

In 1612, the Dutch agent obtained a grant for the exclusive commerce in cinnamon, from the King of Candy; and had not their principal force, at this juncture, been employed in reducing the Moluccas, the Portuguese garrisons, in Ceylon, would not have been able to prevent, what afterwards took place, their possessing the principal ports in that island.

For several years, the Dutch equipments were directed to the monopoly of the spice and pepper trade, in which their first opponents were the Portuguese, but, subsequently, the English.

The Dutch, at this period, built and fortified Jaccatra, and rendered it impregnable against any attacks of the natives;—jealous, however, of the interferences of the English from Bantam, they attempted to exclude them from the profitable trade of Java: —afraid, also, that the naval power of England might contest the sovereignty of the Spice Islands with them, they exercised towards their political friends, in Europe, a rancorous animosity in the East-Indies: — hence their intrigues with the natives at Bantam, and the establishment of their power at Jaccatra: By

By their perseverance, the political and commercial superiority of the Dutch was confirmed, while that of the English declined; Batavia soon became not only the centre of the Dutch power in the East-Indies, but of their commerce, and by exchanges between this station, and their settlements and factories on the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts they combined, not only the profits of trade in the East, but the profits from the exports from Batavia to Europe, and reciprocally those of the imports from Europe to the Indies. (1)

Their oppressions of the English and Portuguese, the source of the extensive commerce and power of the Dutch Companies in the East-Indies.

It was obvious, from the jarring interests of the two companies, and the injuries which the English had experienced, that force must soon be employed to expel one of them from power and trade; a consequence which their respective sovereigns in Europe anticipated, by forming, in 1619, a treaty for conciliating their differences, which was specious in its conditions, but (as we shall discover in the progress of the London East-India Company) impracticable in its execution. This treaty constituted what was termed a *Council of Defence*, composed of an equal number of the members of both companies;—settled the proportions of naval and military force which each were to employ for the protection of the common trade of both nations, and, at the same time, assigned two-thirds of the spice trade of the Moluccas to the Dutch, and one-third to the English. This speculation of making the two companies politically equal, and commercially unequal, was soon felt to be impracticable:—the very

(1)—Valentyn, vol. v, part i, pages 1 to 71.— Richesse de la Hollande, vol. i. —MSS. in the State Paper Office, marked No. 156, page 205.

very attempt to carry it into effect led to those violences, which, by specious excuses, may be palliated, but which a regular sovereign would neither authorize nor excuse; the treaty will, therefore, be found to be a temporary expedient, only, to preserve the pacific connexion, in Europe, between England and the States, but to have been the true source of the violence and plunder, which subsequently disgraced the Dutch transactions at Amboyna. (1)

Their measures, from the expiration of the truce of Antwerp (1621), to exclude the other maritime states in Europe, from power or trade with the East-Indies.

An event in Europe, or the expiration of the truce between Spain and Holland, in 1621, gave an opportunity to the Dutch in the East-Indies to recommence hostilities against the settlements of their ancient enemy; and as the Council of Defence in India had, as yet, been scarcely formed, and, of course, could not proceed to moderate, or keep within bounds, the transactions of the respective companies, the Dutch, who had fitted out large armaments to expel the Spanish-Portuguese from the Indies, instead of limiting their attacks to the ships and possessions of Spain, found themselves so strong that they attacked their ally, the English, and, under the pretext that there had been a prior agreement between the natives of the Bandas, who had placed themselves under the sovereignty of the States General, seized on the English factories in those islands, the guards of which not being prepared for war with an ally, and not authorized to commence hostilities with the enemy of that ally, were unable to resist the attacks of the Dutch and the natives, and therefore experienced the most unjustifiable depredations and expulsion

(1)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvii, page 170.—— Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 277.—— Collection of Treaties, published in 1732.

expulsion; for the principal part of the English force, at this time, was at Bantam, and not sufficiently strong to detach the requisite assistance to the factories in the Spice Islands.(1)

This success stimulated the Dutch to engross the whole of the power and trade in the Spice Islands, by expelling equally from them their enemies and their allies. The English were now reduced to the single settlement at Amboyna, at which they were entitled, according to the terms of the treaty of 1619, to one-third of the trade; and it was to divest them of this third (as the Dutch had acquired the Bandas, and all the Moluccas, with this exception) that they accused the English factory, in 1622, of favouring a revolt of the natives, and employed tortures to oblige the Company's servants to confess crimes which had not been committed;—a conduct which can only be accounted for on those republican maxims which remove odium from individuals, by diffusing it among numbers, and which can justify by specious pretexts, barbarities, secretly prescribed by the love of gain, and openly vindicated by falsehood, because neither attach to individuals or to their families, but to their country. By this atrocity, however, the Dutch, in 1622, became the exclusive possessors of the Molucca and Banda Spice Islands; and though, in the subsequent detail, we shall find this to be one of the principal calamities which the London East-India Company had to experience, it is, in this place, unnecessary to go beyond the mere notice of it, as one of those fatal

(1)—Valentyn, Oost Indien, vol. v.—— Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, pages 287, 288.——MSS. in the State Paper Office, marked "Foreign Trade," No. 156.

fatal and expensive occurrences, which it had to surmount, in acquiring, and endeavouring to preserve, the seats of its early trade in the East.

The States General, in the subsequent year, 1623, when they received intelligence of the massacre at Amboyna, instead of recurring to the convention by which the Council of Defence had been established, or either questioning or examining this atrocious breach of its conditions, looked solely to the large dividend of twenty-five per cent, which the exclusive possession of the Spice Islands had afforded them, and renewed the privileges of the Dutch East-India Company, for twenty-one years, without even questioning its former conduct, or framing regulations for its future proceedings. (1)

It does not appear that the government of England, at this period, took any decisive measure to vindicate the right of the London East-India Company, but rather contented itself with remonstrances and unavailing applications;—the Dutch, therefore, were left with an increasing trade, and consequently, with increasing naval and military means, to bear down on the remains of the Portuguese power in the East. In 1635, they expelled them from the Island of Formosa, in the Chinese Seas; and, in 1638, became, exclusively, masters of the coasts of the Island of Ceylon, and engrossed, with the finer spices from the Moluccas and Bandas, the trade in cinnamon:—events which account for the large dividends which were made to their proprietors,

(1)—MSS. in the State Paper Office, marked "Foreign Trade," No. 156.—— Narrative of the Cruelties of the Dutch in the Spice Islands, by R. Hall, 8vo. 1712.

proprietors, partly in money, and partly in goods, which together made up an amount, not appearing in the bill of sales of the goods in Europe, or of foreign merchandize, by their different chambers, but which, to the individual proprietors, produced considerable gains, and augmented the profits of their trade. (1)

From the first interferences of the Dutch with the Portuguese settlements and commerce in the farther Indies, they discovered, that Malacca had been considered as the important station which commanded the trade between the islands and the peninsula of India; and, indeed, from all the Portuguese writings upon the subject of the Indies, this station appears to have been held to be the strong outpost, which commanded the whole. The Dutch had made several ineffectual attempts to get possession of it, and though they partially succeeded in destroying, at different times, the Portuguese fleets which opposed them, they had not been able, from the strength of the place, to make any impression on its garrison:—at last, in 1640, they determined to send a strong armament, which succeeded in reducing it. On this event, they added to its fortifications, to render it impregnable, that they might levy customs from all vessels passing the Straits, and be in a situation to send reinforcements, either to the Spice Islands, which they had acquired, or to their possessions on the Coromandel or Malabar Coasts. Malacca, however, was always a subordinate station to the seat of their government at Batavia. (2)

 In

(1)—Valentyn, vol. v, page 13.—Richesse de la Hollande.

(2)—Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 388.—— Valentyn, vol. v.—MSS. in the State Paper Office, marked "Foreign Trade," No. 156.

In the following year, or 1641, (whether from the imprudent zeal of the priests, who had exerted great industry in converting the Japanese, or from the intrigues of the Dutch agents, is unknown) the Portuguese, after experiencing a dreadful massacre, were expelled from Japan, and the Dutch trade established in it. It was, however, placed under the most rigid regulations, to prevent their priests from interfering with the opinions of the natives, the government having become suspicious of a people known to be masters of the Bandas and Moluccas, with which the Japanese formerly had had considerable intercourse. (1)

In this state of prosperity, and annually bringing to the Netherlands the produce of the East, the States General renewed to the Company, in 1643, their exclusive privileges, for twenty-seven years, on their paying to the public 1,600,000 guilders. (2)

Their measures, with the same object, after the treaty of Munster, 1648.

In 1648, by the treaty of Munster (afterwards incorporated into that of Westphalia), Spain finally recognized, not only the independence of the Dutch, as a nation, but their title to the possessions in the East-Indies, which they had conquered, both during the period when Spain and Portugal were united, and after these countries again became separate kingdoms; and what appears to be a still stronger circumstance, Spain agreed to prohibit the inhabitants of the Spanish Netherlands from resorting to

(1)—Valentyn, vol. v, part ii, page 33.—— Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 392.

(2)—Valentyn, vol. v.—— Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 400.

to the places which the Spaniards formerly possessed, in the East-Indies. (1)

Having, by these events, confirmed their power in the seas of the farther Indies, and having established a trade in the peninsula, the Dutch next endeavoured to strengthen the relation between Holland and their East-Indian possessions, by settling a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, under Van Riebek, in 1651. This officer had occasionally visited the promontory, as had their homeward and outward-bound ships, for water and other necessaries; and their officers had been in the practice of leaving their journals in a concealed place, at Robben Island, and, by this expedient, information was conveyed, both to the East-Indies and to Europe, of the fleets or ships expected from the one or the other. Van Riebek, in this year, built and fortified Cape Town, and extended the Dutch possessions to the northward and eastward of the Cape Point. From the fertility of this country, the Dutch obtained provisions for their own ships, and for sale to the ships of other European nations, and, by levying customs, defrayed the charges of this settlement, considering it to be a better station than St. Helena, which they relinquished, and which, at this time, was taken possession of by the English. (2)

This sketch of the progress of the Dutch, in the East-Indies, discovers, by a reference to the history of Portugal and of

(1)—Printed copy of the Treaty of Munster, dated 3d January 1648, in the State Paper Office.

(2)—Valentyn, vol. v, page 124.—— Richesse de la Hollande, vol. ii, page 360.—— Nieuwe Beschryving, vol. i.

of England, at this time, that their success, both in acquiring the trade, and in getting possession of settlements, is rather to be ascribed to the political weakness of their European rivals, than to the probity of their own commercial proceedings. The Portuguese settlements in the East, when the Dutch first interfered with them, were strong; but that strength was allowed to exhaust itself, by the crown of Portugal becoming a dependency on that of Spain:—fleets and reinforcements were no longer sent to enable the officers, who commanded, to resist the successive depredations and attacks of the Dutch.

The English Company's equipments and force, in a similar manner, were first weakened by the licences granted to individuals for private trade, contrary to the exclusive privileges of the London Company; and next, by those civil confusions, which arose out of the pretended enthusiasm of the leaders of factions, for liberties on which they were to trample, and to raise themselves to power; a power which, at last, centered in one usurper, who levelled all distinctions, but those which he made subservient to the maintenance of his authority. In this situation, a war between England and Holland ensued, in 1652; and when we come to treat of the actual situation of the London Company's rights, at the time when peace was concluded between these powers, in 1654, we shall have to mention the restitution of Polaroon to the English, and a most inadequate compensation which the Dutch paid, for their admitted atrocities at Amboyna, in 1622. (1)

If

(1)—Rapin's History of England, vol. ii, pages 587, 588.—— Collection of Treaties, 1785, pages 46, 48, 51, 66.—— Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii, page 592.

If the Dutch East-India Company were not able to continue their oppressions of the English in the East-Indies, they redoubled their efforts against the Portuguese, by attacking them, in 1655, at Calicut, and expelling them from that port; and in the two subsequent years, by taking Manaar and Jafnapatam, and driving them from Columbo, they acquired a complete monopoly of all the spice trade, except pepper, which, from being the produce of so many countries, was, in some degree, left open, even to the Portuguese, now pent up in the settlements that remained to them on the Malabar Coast, and to the English, having factories, both to that coast, and on the Island of Sumatra.

Following the Dutch enterprizes, we find that, in a few years, they expelled the Portuguese from Coulan, Cananore, Cochin, and Cranganore, on the Malabar Coast. It was in this situation of their fallen power in the East, that the Portuguese found it expedient to balance their acquisitions in the Brazils against their losses in the East-Indies; and, in consequence, in 1661, the treaty was concluded between Portugal and Holland, on the basis of the *Uti possidetis*, by which the Dutch became the paramount European power in the East-Indies, while Portugal was reduced to the mere possession of Goa, the seat of its once extensive power, and of some of the inferior dependencies on the Malabar side of the Peninsula. (1)

Sketch of the political and commercial characters of

III. This review of the progress of the European Maritime powers, which had trade and possessions in the East-Indies, requires

(1)—Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 464.

the native powers, in the countries within the limits assigned to the London East India Company.

requires, as a third preliminary subject, a general sketch of the Indian sovereignties and states, from the establishment of the London Company, in 1600, to the accession of Aurungzebe, in 1659, that the difficulties which the Company had to encounter, from the native powers, during the first period of their annals, may be seen and appreciated, in connexion with the rivalships of the maritime European nations, at a period when the whole were dependent on the fluctuations of political power in India.

From the imperfect knowledge which has hitherto been obtained of the Coast of Africa, from the Cape of Good Hope (with the exception of the Dutch settlement on that promontory), it is only known, that the native states, or chiefs, from the Dutch limits to the straits of Babelmandel, were in that state of barbarism, in which, even to the Portuguese, a species of simple barter only was practicable on the Coasts of Mozambique and Mombaza: though between Melinda and the Coast of India a better species of exchange appears to have existed, and navigation to have been understood: for it was at this port that Vasco de Gama obtained the pilot who steered his fleet across the Indian Ocean, and enabled him to reach Calicut;—but what proves the limited nature of the trade in this part of Africa, as well as of the powers which regulated it, is the fact, that the Portuguese stations on the Coast of Africa remained undisturbed, either by the Dutch or the other maritime European states, who had divided, with them, the commerce in the East-Indies, except in the attempts which had been made by the French

French to settle on Madagascar, and their actual settlement on the small islands of Bourbon and Mauritius.

From the preceding account of the progress of the Portuguese, it has appeared, that the leading object of their policy was to obstruct the transit of Indian produce, to Europe, by the Gulfs of Arabia and Persia, and to monopolize the whole of the Indian trade, by diverting it from these ancient channels, into their circuitous navigation, which, would so increase the quantities and diminish the price, as to annihilate the former line of the trade, and thus render commerce subservient to that political influence, which the European art of war had given them, over many of the states bordering on the peninsula of Hindostan, and over the islands in the farther Indian Seas.

The character of the native chiefs, on the African Coast of the Red Sea, remained nearly what it had been, at the time when the Portuguese made their first discoveries; and, with the exception of a communication between India and Europe, by the Isthmus of Suez, and the Asiatic side of this Gulf being subjected to the Turkish Empire, the political situation of the natives may be considered, when the London East-India Company obtained their charter, to be subject only to a precarious control, and, therefore, countries with which a safe or profitable intercourse could not be formed.

The other ancient inlet to Europe, or the Persian Gulf, on the Arabian side, was equally in a state of undefined barbarism, and trade impracticable, except at Bussora, which, from being a dependency on Bagdat, had been accessible to the ancient, as

well as to the commerce of the period we are reviewing, and at the ports subject to the chiefs on the eastern side of this sea, who acknowledged their dependence on the Persian government;—the first of these outlets had been one of the routes of the ancient Indian trade to Europe, and the second we shall find became an early object of the London East-India Company, because one of the conditions in their charter prohibited them from interferences with the settlements established in the East, by nations in alliance with England. This condition in the charter did not apply to Persia, from the coasts of which the Portuguese obviously intended to exclude the exchanges from India, it having been one of their first objects to occupy the Island of Ormus, supposed, at this time, to be a station at which, by fortifications and by armed ships, the trade from India to that gulf, might be excluded.

Having thus looked at the political and commercial circumstances of the countries within the Company's limits, physically disconnected with the peninsula of India, we have next to take a view of the political characters of the powers established in this rich country, to appreciate the efforts of the London Company, when they attempted a commerce between England and the East-Indies.

It would, perhaps, be impracticable, and certainly unnecessary, to recapitulate, from the ancient history of Hindostan, the revolutions which have given rise to its successive dynasties, in an attempt to explain the circumstances under which the London East-India Company acquired trade, and established factories in India,

India, farther than by taking up the general facts and events which consolidated the Mogul power, from the Indus to the Ganges, and subsequently depressed the ancient establishments in the Decan, and the lesser powers and states on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, with whom the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, were to have commercial intercourse.

The successive dynasties in Hindostan, from Gengiz Khan to Mahomed III, discover that political anarchy, which prepared it for the invasions of the Moguls.

Timur (the Tamerlane of the Europeans) appeared about the close of the fourteenth century, and had already extended his empire over Western Asia and Tartary. In 1398, he marched from Samarcand, crossed the Indus at Attock, and effected a junction with the army of his grandson, Mahmood, whom, the preceding year, he had detached into Hindostan, and who had already reduced the Panjab and Moultan. The weakness of the emperor, Mahmood III, and the treachery of his ministers, soon rendered Delhi an easy conquest to Timur, who, after having plundered it, made an incursion into the Dooab, and thence proceeded to the frontiers of Cashmere:—he next crossed the Indus, and marched back to Samarcand, leaving the emperor, Mahmood III, in the nominal possession of the throne of Delhi. Timur thence proceeded on his celebrated expedition into the Turkish Empire, and died in 1405, leaving his grandson, Peer Mahmood, the universal heir of his vast dominions. (1)

(1)—Dow's History of Hindostan, 8vo. edition (1803), vol. ii, pages 81 to 90.—— Rennell's Introduction, page 55.—— Orme's Dissertation, pages 13, 15.

The emperor, Mahmood III, continued in possession of the wrecks of his capital for a few years, and died in 1413, and with him ended the first Patan, or Afghan dynasty.(1)

The dynasty of the Patan, or Afghan sovereigns, was succeeded, in 1414, by that of the *Seids*, a race descended from the prophet Mahomet. Chizer, a Seid, claimed possession of the empire, on the pretension of holding it, as a right, from the family of Timur, the descendants of whom retained the Panjab only, of his vast conquests in Hindostan.

In this family the throne continued, amid a series of anarchy, rebellion, and invasion, till the year 1447, when Alla II, the last of the dynasty of the Seids, was dethroned, by an adventurer, named Beloli Lodi.(2)

Beloli established himself on the throne of Delhi, notwithstanding the continued convulsions in India, occasioned by the pretensions of successive chiefs, and, after a long reign of forty years, left his dominions, in 1488, to his younger son, Secunder I, who, in the early part of his reign, had to suppress the rebellions of his two elder brothers: —he, however, firmly settled himself in the empire, and, in 1501, removed the royal residence from Delhi to Agra, and died in 1516.(3)

Such

(1)—Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. ii, pages 93 to 97.—— Rennell's Introduction, page 55.

(2)—Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. ii, pages 100 to 109.—— Rennell's Introduction, page 56.

(3)—Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. ii, pages 131 to 159.—— Rennell's Introduction, page 56

Such was the political situation and state of what afterwards became the Mogul Empire, at the period when the Portuguese, under Vasco de Gama, for the first time visited India, in 1498, and when their successors were making those impressions on the sea coast of the Decan, which have been described. The policy of the Portuguese, therefore, was rather directed to shut up the ancient inlets of the commerce from India to Europe, than to seek out political relations with the existing powers, of whose weakness, from a better knowledge of the art of war, they had had experience.

Secunder I. was succeeded, in 1516, by his son, Ibrahim II. During his reign, one rebellion followed another, till the anarchy prevalent in Hindostan induced Sultan Baber, a descendant of Timur, who governed the country between the Indus and Samarcand, to make repeated incursions into Hindostan, with the object of recovering his Indian dominions: after various successes, a general action ensued between the armies of Sultan Baber, and the emperor Ibrahim, at Panniput, in the year 1525, in which the emperor was slain, and his army totally defeated; and with his death the dynasty of Lodi terminated.

After the battle of Panniput, Sultan Baber took possession of Agra and Delhi, assumed the empire, and completed the conquest of the dominions of Ibrahim, and the establishment of the empire of the Moguls.(1)

The

(1)—Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. ii, pages 160 to 202.—— Rennell's Introduction, page 56.

The great object of Sultan Baber, after re-establishing the empire of the Moguls, was to comprehend the eastern provinces of Hindostan in his dominions, which, after much opposition from the Patans, he at length effected, and died in 1530, leaving the crown to his son, Humaioon.(1)

Humaioon had scarcely been seated on the throne of Delhi, when a rebellion was formed against him, by Shere Khan, a Patan chief, formerly an officer in the service of Sultan Ibrahim. After many vicissitudes of fortune, Humaioon was compelled, in 1542, to take refuge with the King of Persia. Shere Khan now assumed the empire, and founded what is known, in the history of India, by the name of the second Patan Dynasty.(2)

Shere Khan, and his immediate successors, held the imperial power in Hindostan, till the year 1554, previously to which period Humaioon, assisted by a Persian army, made several attempts to recover his dominions. This army, at length, under his son, Akbar, and his general, Byram Khan, after various successes, in 1554, entirely defeated the army of Secunder, the nephew of Shere Khan, who had been elected king, an event which was followed by the reduction of the cities of Delhi and Agra, and the re-establishment of the emperor Humaioon on the throne of the Moguls.

The emperor survived this event but a short time; for he died the following year (1555), and left his dominions in a state of tranquillity to his son, Akbar.(3)

The

(1)—Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. ii, pages 203 to 217.

(2)—Ibid.................................. 222—242.

(3)—Ibid.................................. 243, 288, 310.

The active and decided part which this young prince had taken in the restoration of his father to the throne, gave him a reputation for talents, at that period of life when other princes are only educating for the exercise of them.

Akbar, on his accession, had to control the Omrahs, and to reduce the provinces, from Agimere to Bengal, to his obedience. By his talents and by his firmness he effected both; and having occupied the throne for the long period of fifty years, he not only established tranquillity in the different soubahs, but added new dominions to that empire which had been founded by Baber. It does not appear, that Akbar considered the reduction of the Hindoo governments, which bordered upon his dominions, and which his successors had to resist, to be the leading object of his government, so much as the subjugation of the Decan, which he held to be the most formidable obstacle to the consolidation of his empire.

The Decan, at this period, was divided into the kingdoms or states of Candeish, Amednagur, Golconda, and Visiapore, governed by Mahomedan chiefs, the period of whose conquests has been subjects only of conjecture.

Akbar's conquests in the Decan were but partial, consisting of the western part of Berar, Candeish, Telingana, and Amednagur;—but it does not appear that the Carnatic was held to be included in the Decan:—after this expedition, the emperor Akbar returned to Agra, and died in 1605, leaving Hindostan in a state of political tranquillity.(1)

Akbar

(1)—Dow's History, in the reign of Akbar, vol. ii, pages 312 to 400.—— Rennell's Introduction, pages 59, 141.—— Orme's Dissertation, page 18.

Akbar divided his dominions into soubahs, circars, and pergunnahs:—the soubahs were Lahore, Moultan, (including Agimere) Delhi, Agra, Oude, Allahabad, Bahar, Bengal, Malwa, and the Guzerat, Cabul, including Candahar and Ghizni, and the conquered soubahs in the Decan, or Berar, Candeish and Amednagur.(1)

As those divisions have been retained, as geographical limits, after the Mogul empire began to decline, and even after its fall, the enumeration of them, from admitted authorities, will be useful, in understanding the proceedings of the East-India Company, under their charter, in acquiring from the existing powers, in each, either privileges of trade, or permission to erect factories.

Akbar, a short time before his death, declared his son, Selim, his successor; but such was the defect of the Mogul constitution, respecting succession, that this event uniformly became the source of civil wars:—an instance of which occurred in Sultan Selim (who had now taken the name of Jehanguire), whose son, Chesuro, made an attempt to supersede his father's right; this attempt was, however, momentary only. The first years of Jehanguire's reign were directed rather to his obtaining, by perfidy and crimes, a favorite sultana, Noor-Jehan, than to his father's lessons for consolidating and extending the empire. Rebellions took place in Bengal, and in the Decan, in which the resistance of the chiefs increased to an alarming degree, as they were supported by Ameer Sinka, the sovereign of the greatest

(1)—Rennell's Introduction, page 110, on the authority of Gladwin's Translation of the Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii.

greatest part of the present Mahratta dominions. The emperor's sons were sent with different armies against him, but neither could subdue him, and were obliged to conclude a treaty:—the Decan, therefore, during this reign, remained a scene of revolts and usurpations. Jehanguire, after a reign of twenty-three years, died in 1627, and was succeeded by his third son, Sultan Churrum, who took the title of Shah Jehan. (1)

When Shah Jehan ascended the throne, he discovered that, in his own sons, he was to have rivals, who soon rendered the empire a seat of civil war. His leading policy was to remove the soubahdars, or governors of provinces, from place to place, that they might not be able to collect a force to resist his government. Sultan Dara, his eldest son, remained near his person; Sultan Sujah, the second, was entrusted with the government of Bengal; Aurungzebe, the third, was in the Decan; and Sultan Morad, the fourth, had not any government assigned to him. The rebellions of his sons induced Shah Jehan to raise his eldest son, Dara, to a participation in the throne:—matters were, thus, ripening for a general civil war, and nothing was wanting but the incident which was to kindle it. Shah Jehan was seized with a paralytic disorder, at Delhi, and his sons instantly flew to arms, that each might assert his claim. Aurungzebe, by his intrigues, and by his superior talents, defeated or seduced the armies of his brothers, and, at last, made the

(1)—Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. ii, page 405; vol. iii, pages 1 to 118.——Rennell's Introduction, page 60.

emperor, his father, a prisoner, and, in 1659, ascended the throne, under the title of Allumguire I. [1]

Having thus slightly sketched out the succession of sovereigns in the Mogul empire, to the accession of Aurungzebe, with whose officers, or with whom, the London East-India Company had to transact, either in the acquisition of trade or of factories, we have next to look eastwards, from the limits of the Mogul empire, to those coasts or countries at which their ships either contingently touched, or endeavoured, by agencies or factories, to open a trade.

In the progress eastwards, from the peninsula of India towards the coasts of Aracan, Pegu, and Malacca, and towards China, including the islands in the farther Indian Seas, the political situation of the chiefs who governed in each, and the whole of them, do not appear, from the progress of the Portuguese and Dutch, which has been detailed, to have proceeded on any other principle, than that of the sale, or barter, of such commodities, as the European traders could offer or receive from them :—and even this sale, or barter, had no other protection than that which arose from the apprehension of the power of the crews of the vessels, and the gradual introduction of military guards to the factories and seats of trade, the slightest fortifications of which were sufficient to repel the continued propensities of the natives to plunder the stores which had been made, as

(1)—Orme's Historical Fragments, page 3.—— Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. ii, page 405; vol. iii, pages 119, 284.—— In Note 2 of Mr. Orme's Fragments is an enumeration of the Indian authorities on which he rested his observations; and, in Notes 5 and 6, an account of the European authors whose works he had consulted.

as well of their own produce, as of the articles which they were willing to receive in exchange for it.

Sketch of the political and commercial relations of England with the European maritime states, from 1600, when Queen Elizabeth established the East-India Company, to the Restoration of King Charles II, 1660.

IV.—The knowledge of the preceding subjects would form but an imperfect preliminary to the annals of the London East-India Company, unless illustrated by a review of the political and commercial relations of England, with the European maritime states, participating in the East-India trade. It is from those relations, only, that we can trace the powers which the crown possessed, to grant authority to that body of its subjects, which it had incorporated, to open a direct trade between England and the East-Indies; and the information, on this interesting subject, will be drawn from original public documents, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the restoration of the monarchy under King Charles II.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The political relations of England, relatively not only to Scotland, (for Britain was at this time divided into two sovereignties), but to the continental powers, had not, for nearly half a century, been so undefined and weakened, as at the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

Scotland, from factions, civil and ecclesiastical, and from the minority of its sovereigns, James V. and Queen Mary, had, with difficulty, supported its national independence; but Mary had married the heir apparent of the crown of France, who assumed the title of King of Scotland.

France was governed by Henry II, and the English had lost Calais, their last possession in the French dominions.

Charles V, who had united in his person, the Empire, the Low Countries, Spain, and the Indies, and considerable possessions in Italy, had divided his dominions between his brother, Ferdinand, who acquired the Imperial diadem, and his son, Philip II, who became sovereign of Spain, the Indies, and the Low Countries, but whose pretensions on England had terminated with the death of Queen Mary.

Amid such complicated and difficult relations, we discover the provident mind of Queen Elizabeth directed, not only to maintain a balance of power in Europe, but to connect with it the commercial intercourse of her subjects with the maritime states. The relations of England with France were confirmed by the treaty of Cambray;—the relations with Spain were more difficult, from their involving disputes regarding the Queen's rights to the crown, and from those rights having been questioned, by the pretensions of the Dauphin of France, the husband of Mary Queen of Scotland :—these relations were, at length, adjusted, by the treaty of Cambray, 2d April 1559.(1) Subsidiary to this treaty, the Queen engaged auxiliary forces, to be levied by Count Mansfeldt and the Duke of Brunswick, that she might have on the continent, armies which were to support her influence, either against France or Spain, according to the political line of conduct she might deem it expedient to adopt, for balancing the power of either

(1)—(Copy). Treaty concluded at Cateau Cambresis, between King Henry II of France, and Queen Elizabeth, 2d April 1559, in the State Paper Office, Whitehall.

either kingdom.[1] Hence the treaty of Berwick with Scotland, in 1560, rested on the principle of separating the local influence of France on her northern frontier ; and, in the same year, her treaty with the Towns of the Hanseatic League, to connect the influence of England with the north of Europe, and to preserve the commercial intercourse of her subjects with provinces, whose wealth, as well as principles, might have weight in the scale ;—[2] Hence, also, the treaty of Troyes with France, in April 1564, in support of the Protestant interest, which opened to the French refugees of this religion an asylum in the Low Countries, and in England.[3] With the same policy, the Queen encouraged the Protestant interest in France, to fix the attention of Charles IX on the tranquillity of his own dominions, instead of leaving him in a situation to make encroachments on the Low Countries.

The Queen, thus, on the one hand, was laying the foundations of those means, by which she was to balance the power of the sovereigns on the continent, and, on the other, to connect this great political principle, with the commercial intercourse of her subjects, at the greater mercantile ports in their dominions. With these objects she formed, in 1565 and 1566, treaties with the Regent of the Low Countries, for arranging the intercourse of

(1)—Original Subsidiary Convention between Queen Elizabeth, and Otho, Duke of Brunswick, 19th October 1559. —— Original Subsidiary Convention between Queen Elizabeth and Volrad, Count Mansfeldt, February 1560. (State Paper Office).

(2)—(Copy).—Ratification of the Treaty of Berwick, by the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland, May 1560. (State Paper Office).—— (Copy). Commercial Convention between Queen Elizabeth and the Towns of the Hanseatic League, 1560. (State Paper Office).

(3)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xv, page 640.

of trade with England, and, in 1568, the treaty with the Czar, for the protection of commerce in the East Sea.(1)

For some years, the Queen encouraged the project of an alliance with France, by a marriage with the Duke of Alençon, afterwards Duke of Anjou, that she might prevent a league among the continental powers, which might affect the independence of her crown; and when this danger had passed, and could no longer influence the politics of France, she concluded the league of Blois, in April 1572, by which the crowns of France and England mutually guaranteed their respective rights, and each stipulated to furnish an aid of six thousand men, for this service, when required.(2)

At this period, the discontents in the Netherlands, and the prevalence of the Protestant interest in them, began to affect the relations between England and Portugal;—the one, supporting the appearances of independence in the Low Countries; and the other, jealous, if not apprehensive, of the probable attacks of the Netherland ships in the Indian Seas:— circumstances which explain the treaty between Sebastian, King of Portugal, and the Queen, in October 1576, by which a mutual restitution of ships

(1)—(Copy). Accord between Queen Elizabeth and the Regent of the Low Countries, for mutual intercourse of commerce, 30th November 1564. (State Paper Office).—— Original Agreement between the English and Spanish Commissioners, for prolonging of the Treaty of Intercourse between England and the Low Countries, 29th September 1565. (State Paper Office).—— Rapin, vol. ii, page 88.

(2)—(Copy). Articles delivered by the French Ambassador, relative to the Marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Alençon, 16th April 1571. (State Paper Office). (Copy). Treaty of Blois, between Queen Elizabeth and Charles IX King of France, with Copies of the Oaths and Ratifications of both parties, 19th April 1572. (State Paper Office)

ships and goods was stipulated, and commissioners appointed to ascertain the claims of both parties. By this treaty the English were to be allowed liberty to trade to the Portuguese dominions in Europe, to Madeira, and to the Azores.(1)

This temporary expedient, however, neither withdrew the Queen's attention from the Low Countries, which she had secretly encouraged in their project of independence, nor protected Spain or Portugal from the aggressions which they had apprehended from the fleets which the Dutch were fitting out for enterprizes in the Indies.

The Union of the Seven Provinces, at Utrecht, took place in January 1579, and was ratified by the States in July 1581. This event laid the foundation of the independence of the States General,(2) though it was not till 1585, that the Queen, by a public treaty with the States General, recognized this independence, when by a convention, she stipulated to send five thousand foot and one thousand horse to their assistance, under the command of the Earl of Leicester; and, as a security for the repayment of the charges, obtained possession of the three cautionary towns of Flushing, Rammekins, and the Briel.(3)

The

(1)—Original Treaty between England and Portugal, for restoration of mutual intercourse between the two Kingdoms, 29th October 1576. (State Paper Office).

(2)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xv, page 784.—— Groot Placaart Boek, tom. i, page 75.

(3)—"Thyngs to be considered, if the Queen's Majestie shall intend to ayd the Hollanders, in case that she can not procure the accord betwixt the Kyng of Spain and them." 21st January 1578, *in Lord Burleigh's Writing*. (State Paper Office).—— (Copy). Ratification, by Queen Elizabeth, of a Treaty concluded between England and the States General of the United Provinces, 1585. (State Paper Office).

The Queen connected the arrangements, for establishing the balance of power, with projects for extending the commerce of her subjects. In 1579, she established the Eastland Company, and, in the year 1581, the Levant, or Turkey Company. (1)

The treaty of 1585, with the Dutch, the Queen foresaw, would involve her in a war with Spain, already preparing for the invasion and conquest of England:—hence her treaties, at this period, with France, with the Duke of Anjou, as Duke of Brabant, and with James VI of Scotland, for the common defence of their kingdoms; (2) the object of the whole being to divide the attention of Philip, by the long protracted war between him and the States General, while, by making advances to Henry IV, as King of Navarre, and afterwards of France, she gave employment equally to her enemy, and to her ally, on the continent, and thus retarded that Armada, against which she was preparing her forces and fleets, with the co-operation of the King of Scots.

After the defeat of the Armada, the Queen prepared against a second attack, threatened by Spain, by forming treaties with Henry IV, in March 1592, and in October and November 1593, by which she stipulated the assistance which England was to furnish to France, against Spain, in the province of Britanny, in which she required to be put in possession of a sea-port,

(2)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iii, page 799.—— Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, pages 149, 152.

(1)—Original Obligation of Francis, Duke of Anjou, to hold amity and alliance with Queen Elizabeth, and to defend the Low Countries and inhabitants thereof, 27th November 1581. (State Paper Office).—— Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xv, page 803.

sea-port, to which supplies might be sent to her troops. (1) With the same object, the Queen formed a treaty with Henry IV, in May 1596, which was followed by a convention, by which Henry stipulated not to make peace with Spain, without including England; and the Queen agreed to send four thousand men to support his interest, and farther succours, as soon as the rebellion in Ireland should be quelled; and also engaged her influence, in October 1596, to form a treaty, between France and the States General, by which the States agreed to advance 450,000 florins per month, to Henry IV, and to furnish eight thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. (2)

This convention was of short duration, for, in 1598, Henry IV. concluded a separate peace with Spain, and thus violated the most solemn engagements, not to treat with Spain, but in conjunction with England and Holland. Under such circumstances, the Queen saw that the most effectual plan she could adopt, for securing the independence of her crown, and forming a balance against France and Spain, was by a new and more intimate connexion with the States General; and therefore formed a con-

 vention

(1)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvi, page 92.—— Original Answer to the Remonstrances of Monsr. Beauvais, the French Ambassador, relative to 4000 English Troops proposed to be sent into Britanny, 16th November 1593. (State Paper Office).

(2)—Attested Copy of the Ratification of King Henry IV. of the Treaty concluded with Queen Elizabeth, at Greenwich, 14th May 1596. (State Paper Office).—— Original Oath of Henry IV. of France, for the observance of the Treaties concluded with Queen Elizabeth against Spain, dated at Rouen, 19th October, 1596. (State Paper Office).—— (Copy).—Treaty of offensive and defensive Alliance against Spain, between England, France, and Holland, 31st October 1596. (State Paper Office).

vention with them, by which obligations were given for the repayment of £800,000, which she had advanced, and the English auxiliaries, in the Netherlands, placed under the orders, and in the pay, of the States General. (1)

Henry IV, sensible of the offence given to the Queen (for at this time the English and his subjects were making reprisals on each others' ships), proposed a convention, in 1599, to obviate these evils; one condition of which was, that he would not supply military stores to the King of Spain. (2)

The death of Philip II. of Spain, which soon followed this event, and the cession of the Low Countries to the Archduke Albert, gave to the United Provinces better prospects from a different sovereign, than from him, against whom they had originally revolted. The death of Lord Burghley, and the rebellion of the Earl of Essex, at this crisis, wrought up the mind of the Queen to an anxiety, which terminated in the disease that lost to England, in 1601, a sovereign, whose energy and wisdom had, for so many years, protected its independence, and maintained a balance of power, and of trade, in Europe.

During the reign of King James I.

Such were the political and commercial relations of England and the continental maritime powers, at the period when Queen Elizabeth granted its first charter to the London East-India Company, which, while they afford evidence of the reasons why she encouraged the marine and commerce of the States General, and

(1)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvi, page 340.

(2)—Draft of Articles proposed by France, as the basis of a commercial Treaty between England and France, 1599. (State Paper Office).

and the adventurous spirit of the Dutch, did not prevent her from incorporating the London East-India Company, but, at the same time, explain the source of the condition in their first charter, that their enterprizes, in the East, should not interfere with the factories or trade of the European nations, in alliance with England.

If Queen Elizabeth, in her relations with the Continent, had not been able to establish the balance of power, so as to render England arbiter of the disputes between the greater monarchies, she had, from the encouragement given to the States General, and to the Protestant interest, in the north of Europe, and from the separation of Spain from the Empire, supported the independence of her crown, and given encouragement to the commerce and enterprize of her subjects. James I, instead of availing himself of those advantages, at his accession, deviated from the wise policy of his predecessor in supporting the States General, by considering that most useful ally of his crown, as having originally rebelled against their lawful sovereign. His first public act was, therefore, to form, in August 1604, an alliance with Spain, by which he agreed, for the mutual support of the dominions of the two crowns, to give no encouragement to their opponents, without reflecting, that, by succeeding to the crown of England, he was strictly bound by treaty to the States General. (1)

(1)—(Copy). Translation of a Treaty of Peace, Intercourse, and Commerce, between James I. and Philip III, King of Spain, 18th August 1604. (State Paper Office).

This political connexion with Spain was followed, in February 1606, by a commercial convention with France, by which the traders of the two nations were to have access to each others ports and markets, and tables of the rates and duties to be paid, in each country, were settled:—a measure evidently calculated, by the encouragement to the French, to depress the rising commerce of the Dutch.(1)

Though no precise limits were, at this time, assigned to the Levant Company, their exchanges were connected with those of the East India Company, which, from its recent establishment, became an immediate object requiring the protection of the crown. The plan of the Levant Company was the trade with the Mediterranean Sea; that of the East India Company, to lower the prices of Indian produce:—several of the finer articles which constituted the assortments of the Levant Company, were included in the assortments of the East India Company. The charter to the Levant Company was renewed, and granted in perpetuity, and Sir Thomas Glover was sent ambassador to Constantinople, to procure privileges of trade for them, while that to the East-India Company was weakened by licences to private merchants.(2)

Prince Maurice, of Orange, perceiving, from this wavering conduct of James, that he was not only receding from the treaties between Queen Elizabeth and the States, but from the last

(1)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvi, page 645.

(2)—Attested Copy of the Charter granted by King James to the Levant or Turkey Company, 14th December 1605. (State Paper Office).—— Attested Copy of Articles between the Levant Company and Sir Thomas Glover, 30th April 1606. (State Paper Office).

last treaty which he, himself, had concluded, decided, that no reliance could be placed on his support against Spain. Shifting, therefore, his politics, for securing the independence of the States, from James to Henry IV. of France, Maurice, by the mediation of France and England, concluded the truce of Antwerp, with Spain and the Archduke, for twelve years, in April 1609:—Spain preferring this doubtful expedient to that of a treaty, and the Dutch interpreting it into the spirit of one, recognizing their independence.(1)

The fourth article of this truce, or treaty, specified the limits of the trade which the States were to be allowed; the King of Spain wishing to confine it to the ports in Europe, the Dutch to extend it to the East-Indies: at last it was settled, that the States would be contented without the words, " East-Indies," if the French and English ambassadors would certify, that this was the meaning, and agree, that the aids which the two crowns were to furnish to the States General, should apply, not only to Europe, but to the East-Indies, to which these ambassadors assented. Prince Maurice, not satisfied with this general explanation, made a proposition, that the Dutch and English traders should associate in the East-Indies, against the Portuguese-Spaniards, and be assisted in acquiring settlement and seats of trade, particularly in the Moluccas. This proposition produced the appointment of Dutch and English commissioners, to take this project into consideration:—their decisions, originally intended for the common security of the traders of both nations, we

(1)—Copy of the Truce of Antwerp, in 1609. (State Paper Office).

we shall, in the sequel, find to have been the source of their most bitter animosities. (1)

The following year, 1610, James considered a strict alliance with France to be the best means for protecting his kingdoms against Spain, and, therefore, concluded a treaty with the Queen Regent (Henry IV. being assassinated in this year) in the name of Louis XIII, by which each party was to furnish to the other, in the event of an attack, 6000 men and eight ships of war. (2)

In the year 1616, James I, for the consideration of £200,000, delivered over the cautionary towns to the States General, and thus terminated that influence in Dutch affairs, and that balance of power among foreign nations, which the wise Elizabeth had created. (3)

The reference which had been made to commissioners, to settle, under the fourth article of the treaty of Antwerp, in 1609, the respective commercial privileges of the Dutch and English East-India Companies, and the orders which were, in consequence, issued by the States General, were, by experience, found to have increased the disputes between the servants of both companies, in India. These disputes became, at length, of

(1)—Original Ratification by the States General, of the Treaty concluded with King James, on the 26th June 1608. (State Paper Office).—— "Brief et Sommaire de la "Conférence entre les Commissionaires de Sa Majesté de la Grande-Bretagne, et les Etats "Généraux, sur l'Accommodement du Traffique des Indes." (State Paper Office).

(2)—Original Treaty of Alliance between King James and Louis XIII, King of France, 19th August 1610. (State Paper Office).

(3)—Original Articles agreed on betwixt the Lords of the Privy Council and Sir Noel de Caron, touching the rendering of the cautionary Towns of Vlishing and Briel, May 21st 1616. (State Paper Office).

of so much consequence, that commissioners were appointed by King James, and by the States General, in 1618, to inquire into the sources of the evil, and, if possible, to frame articles of agreement, which might ascertain the respective rights of the English and Dutch Companies in India.

After repeated conferences between these commissioners, it was, at length, agreed, by a treaty concluded at London, between the King and the States General, dated the 7th July 1619, that the English Company should have one-third of the spice trade in the Moluccas and Bandas, and the Dutch Company two-thirds; that a *Council of Defence* should be formed in India, to superintend the mutual commerce and protection of trade, which was to be composed of members of both nations; and that the right of appeal, in case of differences, should be to the Directors of both companies, in Europe, and, ultimately, to the King and to the States General:—speculations, which, from the very nature of them, became the source of discord abroad, and of negotiation at home. (1)

By his connexion with Denmark, James was enabled to form an offensive and defensive treaty with that kingdom, in April 1620. (2)

All the political transactions of James, during the years 1620, 1621, 1622, and 1623, were confined to two objects:— the recovery of the Palatinate, and the marriage of Charles, Prince

(1)—Original Report of the Commissioners appointed by King James to negotiate with the States General, concerning the differences between the English and Dutch East-India Companies, 1619. (State Paper Office).

(2)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvii, page 305.

Prince of Wales, with the Infanta of Spain; but his wavering conduct, regarding both objects, ruined the affairs of Frederic in the Palatinate, and the procrastinated expedients, of which he was the dupe, frustrated the latter plan, and obliged him to enter into a defensive treaty, of the strictest kind, with the States General, concluded the 5th June 1624, by which he agreed to levy six thousand British troops, to serve under the orders of the States General, till another truce with Spain, for eight, ten, or twelve years, could be obtained, and the States stipulated to send a body of four thousand men, in case the British dominions should be attacked. (1)

Still adhering, however, to his project of connecting his son with one of the greater monarchies on the continent, James opened a negotiation for the marriage of Charles with the Princess Henrietta of France, but died in 1624, before it was accomplished.

James, in the whole of his political and commercial proceedings, instead of availing himself of the influence in the balance of Europe, which the wisdom of Elizabeth had afforded him, not only lost that influence, but created discontents among his subjects, which fostered the factions that were rising up against his government, and thus brought himself into circumstances which made him unable to support the commercial privileges which had been conferred by his predecessor, and renewed by himself, to the London East-India Company, and ceased to be

(1)—Copy of the Treaty of Defensive Alliance between King James and the States General, 5th June 1624. (State Paper Office).

be of importance to the continental powers, or to have confidence placed in him by the States General.

During the reign of King Charles I.

From the impolitic conduct of James I, his son Charles, at his accession, found the relations, between his kingdom and the European powers, doubtful in their characters, and requiring strong measures to restore them to their ancient vigor, or to renew them, on terms which could bring Great Britain, again, to have influence in the balance of power in Europe.

The first act of Charles, on his accession, was the accomplishment of the treaty of marriage with the Princess Henrietta Maria of France:—Aware, however, of the resentment of Spain, for the ungenerous proceedings of James, regarding his marriage with the Infanta, and to favor his projected support of the Elector Palatine, he formed a treaty with the States General, on the 7th September 1625, by which it was agreed, that each party, in the event of hostilities, should furnish thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse;—large fleets were, also, to be equipped, on board of which troops were to embark, not only to make an attack on Spain and Portugal, but upon the foreign possessions of both countries.[1] It is remarkable, that, on the day subsequent to the signing of this treaty, a protest was taken, on behalf of the King, against the Dutch East-India Company, on account of the massacre at Amboyna, the parti-

(1)—Original Treaty of Offensive and Defensive Alliance between King Charles and the States General, 7th September 1625. (State Paper Office).

culars of which will be detailed in the annals of the London East-India Company. (1)

Charles, notwithstanding this event, calculated to excite animosities between the two nations, was desirous to make every effort for the recovery of the Palatinate. In conjunction with the States General, therefore, he formed, in December 1625, a treaty with the King of Denmark, who was to furnish an army of thirty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, to act in the north of Germany, on condition of receiving 300,000 florins, per month, from England, and 50,000, per month, from the States. Charles, also, with the same object, engaged, in November 1626, four thousand foot and one thousand horse, from the Margrave of Baden. (2)

It might have been expected, that Charles's connexion, by marriage, with the crown of France, would have prevented a rupture with that kingdom; but, from the natural prejudice of the English against the French ecclesiastics, in the Queen's suite, Charles dismissed the greatest part of her attendants, and, in 1627, declared war against France,—a war, memorable, only, for the imprudent proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham, in his attack on the Isle of Rhé. After a desultory war of two years,

(1)—Copy of a Protest, on the part of the King, against the Dutch East-India Company, and demanding satisfaction for the outrages committed by the Dutch at Amboyna, 8th September 1625. (State Paper Office).

(2)—Copye of the Articles of the Treatye made at the Haghe, betwixt the English and Denmarke Ambassadors and Deputyes of the States, 20th December 1625.—— Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xviii, pages 779, 780, 789.

years, a treaty of peace was concluded between England and France, by the mediation of the Republic of Venice, on the 14th April 1629. (1) This event obliged the unfortunate Prince Palatine to resign his claims to the arbitration of Charles, by a deed, dated at the Hague, 29th March 1630; and this act led to the treaty of Madrid, between England and Spain, in November 1630, by which England was prohibited from assisting the Dutch in any commerce with the Spanish dominions, though this condition was contrary to the treaties between England and the States General. (2)

Amid these nearer political transactions, Charles was not inattentive to the more distant commercial interests of his subjects; for, in his treaty with the Ottoman Porte, in October 1641, it was stipulated, that the Levant Company should have free trade to the ports in the Turkish Dominions, on payment of a duty of three per cent. *ad valorem*; and, by his treaty with Denmark, at nearly the same period, the rates of duty were fixed, payable by English vessels passing the Sound. (3)

 It

(1)—Draft of the Remonstrance to the French King, relative to the servants of Queen Henrietta Maria, 1626. (State Paper Office).—— Original Ratification of Louis XIII, of the Treaty of Peace between France and England 4th July 1629. (State Paper Office).—— Copy of the French King's Proclamation of Peace with England, 20th May 1629. (State Paper Office).

(2)—Original Instrument, whereby Frederic, King of Bohemia, referred the affairs of the Palatinate to the mediation of King Charles I, 29 March 1630. (State Paper Office).—— Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xix, page 219.—— Copy of King Charles's Proclamation of the Peace with Spain, 5th December 1630.

(3)—Original commercial Treaty between England and Turkey, 20th October, 1641. (State Paper Office).—— Original commercial Treaty between England and Denmark 22d April 1640. (State Paper Office).

It was at this juncture, that the connexion between the crown of England, and the House of Orange, was formed, by the marriage of Prince William, afterwards William II, with Mary, eldest daughter of King Charles I. (1)

In 1640, the Duke of Braganza assumed the government of Portugal, under the name of John IV, and again rendered that country an independent sovereignty in Europe. This event had the important effect of restoring the commercial relations between England, the States General, and Portugal, by cutting off the supplies of East-Indian produce, which Spain had hitherto received through Portugal, and gave to the Dutch and English larger proportions of the East-India trade: it did not, however, restore the Portuguese power in the East, but rather tended to increase the animosities between their settlements, and those of the Dutch and English companies.

The last transaction of Charles was his treaty with the Ottoman Porte, in 1647, in favor of the Levant, or Turkey Company; (2) for, about this period, the civil wars in England exposed this ill-fated monarch to disasters, which closed in a manner, as fatal to the sovereign, as disgraceful to the English nation.

The weakening, if not the dereliction, of the system which Queen Elizabeth had begun, and was perfecting, for establishing

(1)—Copy.—Treaty of Marriage between Prince William of Orange, and the Princess Mary of England, 15th March 1640-1. (State Paper Office).

(2)—Copye of the Greate Turkes Confermačon of the Agreement betwixt him and Sir Thomas Bendishe, touching the Englishe, 1648. (State Paper Office).

ing a balance of power, between the greater continental states, and placing England in a situation to keep them in equipoise, had marked the conduct of James I; and Charles, by following up this weak and unhappy policy of his father, not only involved himself in ineffectual wars with these powers, which terminated in treaties that threw England out of the scale, but left its sovereign a prey to the factions which were forming in James's reign, and which gathered strength, when they observed the decline of Charles's influence on the continent, and his inability to protect the rising trade and navigation of his kingdom, from the aggressions equally of his successive enemies or allies.

To understand the political and commercial relations between England and the continental powers, during the Interregnum, and while an usurper exercised despotic power, though nominally proceeding from his Council of State, and from a sort of parliament supporting that council, it is necessary to advert to the circumstances under which the continental powers were placed at this juncture:—these circumstances will explain their inability to control the affairs of England, or to contribute to the restoration of its monarchy. During the Interregnum.

In the year 1648, when the civil wars in England terminated, those of France commenced. In England, they had arisen from the disputes of ecclesiastical sects, coloured over by pretensions to civil rights; in France, from pretensions to civil rights, engrafted to ecclesiastical dogmas:—but the civil wars in that kingdom lasted while Cromwell was consolidating his power in England, and

and till he assumed the sovereignty, as Protector; and even after Louis XIV. became of age, the factions continued their intrigues, and abridged his exercise of the sovereignty.

Spain, at this juncture, was disposed to seize the opportunity of recovering the revolted provinces in the Low Countries, but neither had armies, nor resources, fitted for the enterprize, and, therefore, acquiesced in the treaty of Westphalia.

Though the States General afforded an asylum to Charles II, they were alarmed at the bold and decisive measures of the English parliament, and, to avoid a war, recognized its authority. (1)

Louis XIV, feeling, as a monarch ought, resentment against regicides, levied an army to support Charles II, and a war between France and England ensued.(2)

Spain, less anxious for the fate of the English royal family, was disposed to enter into a convention with Cromwell and the Parliament, in the hope of gaining England to be a party in its project of reconquering the Netherlands; and though this tedious negotiation did not terminate in a treaty, but subsequently in a war, it recognized the authority of the parliament and of the Usurper.(3)

Cromwell and his council, in a short time, began to be sensible that a state of peace might lead to efforts to restore the monarchy,

(1)—Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i, pages 115 to 124.—— Original Council Book, 4th September, 1649. (State Paper Office).

(2)—Copy of French Declaration for prohibiting Trade with England, 2d September 1649. (State Paper Office).—— Council Book, 20th December 1649. (State Paper Office).

(3)—Transactions between England and Spain, 1650 to 1653. (State Paper Office).—— Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i, pages 750, 755.

monarchy, and, therefore, judged it necessary to engage England in a foreign war, in which events might be improved to consolidate his power. For this purpose, he availed himself of the national propensities in favor of their navy and commerce, and of the aggressions of the Dutch against the latter, and, therefore, demanded reparation of the injuries sustained by the English, on this point, and the punishment of the authors of the massacre at Amboyna; the Dutch evaded these demands, and remonstrated against the English Act of Navigation, of 1651. During these negotiations, the fleets of England and Holland met, and an action ensued, which was followed by declarations of war in both countries. (1)

The naval war with the States General, gave Cromwell opportunities to dismiss his parliament, and to be in circumstances to conclude a treaty with the Dutch, in April 1654; by which it was agreed, that compensation should be made to the English, for injuries sustained by them in the East-Indies; that the Dutch should not admit the opponents of the English government into their dominions; and that they should restore, or refund, the value of twenty-two English ships, confiscated by the King of Denmark.—Commissioners were to be appointed, to settle the losses of the English in the East-Indies; and, in case of differences among them, appeal was to be made to the award of the Swiss Cantons.(2) These commissioners met in London,

(1)—Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i, pages 177, 184.—— Printed copy of the English Manifesto against the States General, 1652. (State Paper Office).

(2)—Original Treaty of Peace between Oliver Cromwell and the States General, 5th April 1654. (State Paper Office).

don, and, on the 30th August 1654, awarded that the Dutch East-India Company should pay to the London East-India Company £85,000, and £3,615 to the heirs of Captain Towerson and others, murdered at Amboyna. (1)

Denmark, on the conclusion of peace between England and Holland, found it expedient to form a particular treaty of peace and commerce with England, by which English and Dutch ships were to be exempted from payment of tolls, on passing the Sound, or in the Elbe; and, nearly at the same time, Cromwell concluded a general treaty of peace and commerce with Christiana, Queen of Sweden. (2)

Cromwell next formed a treaty with John IV, King of Portugal, by which the English were to have a free trade to the Portuguese colonies in the West-Indies, and the Brazils, and, particularly, to enjoy the same privileges of trade to the Portuguese settlements in the East-Indies, which had been granted to the Dutch, in 1641, or the year after Portugal had recognized the Duke of Braganza, as its king. (3) It was, probably, this treaty with Portugal, which suggested to Cromwell the project of making war with Spain, because, by its terms, he had an opportunity of sending English fleets to the West Indies, which he accordingly

(1)—Instrumentum ad componendas actiones omnes et pretensiones, inter Societates Indicas Anglicam Belgicamque, 30th August 1654. (State Paper Office).—— Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii, page 21.

(2)—(Copy). Treaty of Peace between England and Denmark, 5th September 1654. (State Paper Office).—— Original Ratification, signed by Oliver Cromwell, of the Treaty between him and Christiana, Queen of Sweden, 31st July 1654. (State Paper Office).

(3)—(Copy). Articles of Peace between England and Portugal, 10th July 1654. (State Paper Office).

accordingly did, under the command of Admirals Penn and Venables, who, though they failed in the attack on St. Domingo, captured Jámaica; and, notwithstanding the pacific proposals made by the Spanish ambassadors, Cromwell declared war against Spain, in October 1655, and, in November following, formed a treaty of peace and commerce with France, by which Louis XIV. agreed to send Charles II., and his adherents, out of that kingdom. (1)

With the object of pressing more effectually on Spain, Cromwell, in March 1657, formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Louis XIV., by which it was agreed, that an attack should be made on the Spanish Netherlands, by their combined forces. France was to furnish twenty thousand men, and England six thousand, and a large fleet, to serve against the sea ports of the Spanish Netherlands, while France pressed them by land. (2) These treaties were renewed, in March 1658, for another year, nearly in the same terms.(3) Cromwell fulfilled his part of the engagement, by sending six thousand men, and getting possession of Dunkirk, in June 1658, but died, soon after this time, on the 3d of September.

 The

(1)—Memorial of the Spanish Ambassadors to Cromwell, proposing a Treaty of Alliance, 21st May 1655. (State Paper Office).—— Declaration of War by Cromwell against Spain, October 1655. (State Paper Office).

(2)—Original Ratification of the Treaty of Peace between England and France, dated 23d March 1657. (State Paper Office.)—— Abstract of Secret Articles between Louis XIV. and Cromwell, 9th May 1657. (State Paper Office).

(3)—Original Ratification of a Treaty for continuing in force, for another year, the Treaty of 23d March 1657, between France and England, 24th April 1659. (State Paper Office.)

The event of Cromwell's death opened the succession to the Protectorate to his son Richard ; but as this choice was dictated by the impression made by Cromwell's talents, and the recollections of the miseries experienced in the civil wars, if, for a short time, it continued the relations between England and the European powers, in an equally short time, it disposed the English nation to return to their allegiance to Charles II.

The only treaties which were formed, between the death of Cromwell and the restoration of Charles II., were, one between Richard Cromwell and Louis XIV., in January 1659, to which the States General were invited to accede, with the object of restoring peace between Sweden and Denmark; and another, between the Council of State and the King of Portugal, who was empowered to levy twelve thousand men in the British Islands, for the defence of the Portuguese dominions against Spain.[1]

These transactions prove the unsettled state of the Commonwealth, and that the minds of all parties began to be opened :—the parliament became jealous of the army ; the officers became suspicious of one another; and, happily for a country which had been so long convulsed, General Monk returned to his allegiance :—the King's declaration was accepted by the Parliament, and the monarchy restored on the 29th May 1660.

This

(1)—Original Ratification of a Treaty between England and France, for facilitating a Peace between Sweden and Denmark, 21st January 1658-9. (State Paper Office.)—— Original Ratification of a Treaty between England, Holland, and France, for mediating a Peace between Sweden and Denmark, 23d July 1659. (State Paper Office.)—— Copy of a Treaty between the King of Portugal and the English Council of State, or levying Troops in England, for the Service of Portugal, 28th April 1660. (State Paper Office.)

This review of the political transactions of England, during the Interregnum, establishes the truth, that, though an usurper, by conquests abroad, may create a power to himself, which appears irresistible, that power vanishes with the terror of his name; and when the incapacity of his successor is discovered by foreign nations, the usurpation no longer exists;—from such a power, indeed, may spring, as in the case of Cromwell, regulations which foster the useful arts and commercial prosperity of a people, but such regulations, unless supported by probity, individual and national, can never become the source of credit, or credit be the source of wealth among nations:—such regulations often spring from unguided theories, as we shall find those which had nearly overset the regulated trade of the East-India Company; but with a mind, such as Cromwell possessed, such theories disappeared, when examined by an appeal to experience. Over the public vices of the Usurper, his country can never draw a veil; but the encouragement he gave to trade, by the Act of Navigation, and the compensations, inadequate as they were, which he obliged the Dutch to pay to the London East-India Company, and the commercial concessions obtained from France, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark, it must be admitted, laid solid foundations for the commercial prosperity of Great Britain.

Having, in this disquisition, unfolded the rise and progress of the modern Asiatic commerce by the establishments of the Portuguese; and the rise and progress of the Dutch interferences with their trade and power in the East-Indies; and having traced

the political and commercial characters of the Indian sovereignties, at the ports to which the Europeans resorted, with the political and commercial relations of the maritime powers, whose subjects had embarked in the trade between Europe and the East-Indies, we are prepared to trace the rise and progress of the London East-India Company.

CHAPTER I.

REVIEW OF THE ANNALS OF THE LONDON EAST-INDIA COMPANY, FROM ITS ESTABLISHMENT BY THE CHARTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH (1600), TO THE RESTORATION OF ITS PRIVILEGES BY THE CHARTER OF KING CHARLES II. (1661).

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at

at Bantam. . . . . . at Jaccatra. . . . . . at Jambee. . . . . . at Potania. . . . . . at Siam. . . . . . at Japan. . . . . . at Succadania. . . . . . at Banjarmassin . . . . . . at Maccassar. . . . . . and at Banda.

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......An Agent sent from Surat to Gombroon, to report on the practicability of continuing the Persian Trade......Company's servants retire from Batavia to the Island of Lagundy.

1625-6.—*The measures for obtaining redress from the Dutch suspended during the first year of King Charles I.... The Presidency of Surat postpone their plan of retiring to Dabul......The Company's servants abandon Lagundy, and return to Batavia......The King of Bantam offers his protection......The Dutch engross the trade at Acheen and Jambee......The English President and Council at Batavia dispatch one of their servants to fix a factory at Armagon, on the Coromandel Coast.*

1626-7.—*The equipments considerable, from the Company's expectation of protection from the Crown......Company erect powder-mills..... Sir Robert Shirley demands a compensation from the Company, which is refused......Unsuccessful attempt of the English and Dutch, at Surat, to surprise Mocha and Bombay......Critical situation of the Company's trade in Persia.*

1627-8.—*Company petition the King for his interposition with the States General......Three Dutch homeward-bound ships detained at Portsmouth, till redress be afforded......Company's equipment and stock this season on a limited scale......Report of the English President and Council at Batavia, on the expedients proposed for re-establishing the southern trade.*

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1628-9.—*Company petition the House of Commons for redress from the Dutch...... The King interposes with the States General in favor of the Company...... The States propose the London Company should send an Agent to Holland, to be present at their judicial proceedings ...... Dutch Ships released, on condition that Commissioners should be sent to England...... Opinion of Sir John Coke on this subject...... Company refuse to send their evidences to Holland...... Equipments for the season...... The Presidency of Surat dispatch a fleet to cruize in the Persian Gulf and on the Malabar Coast...... State of the trade in Persia...... Armagon fortified, and the factory at Masulipatam removed to it...... English President and Council at Batavia remove to Bantam.*

1629-30.—*No redress obtained from the Dutch...... The equipments of this year consigned to Persia only...... Company petition the King for a renewal of their Charter with additional privileges ...... The Presidency of Surat obtains a new Phirmaund from the Mogul, on condition of assisting him against the Portuguese...... Armagon becomes the principal English station on the Coromandel Coast ...... Company's factory re-established at Bantam.*

1630-1.—*Political situation of England at this period...... Company petition for licence to export foreign bullion...... Company's trade at Surat depressed by the Dutch...... Company's ships attacked by the Portuguese fleet, at Swally, and in the Gulf of Persia...... The Phirmaunds for trade in Persia rendered void by the death of Shah*

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Shah Abbas...... The Factors on the Coromandel Coast propose to resettle at Masulipatam...... The Presidency of Bantam reduced to an Agency, subordinate to Surat.

1631-2.—*Establishment of the Third Joint Stock...... Regulations for the administration of the Company's affairs...... King's proclamation against the private trade of the Company's officers...... Company's trade depressed on the West of India, in consequence of a famine ...... Company's privileges in Persia renewed and confirmed by the new King, Shah Sephi...... The trade at Bantam depressed from the want of supplies from the Coromandel Coast.*

1632-3.—*Prejudicial effects of the disputes regarding the internal administration of the Company's affairs...... The Company obliged to assist the Khan of Shiras, in an attempt to drive the Portuguese from Muscat...... Phirmaund obtained from the King of Golcondah, allowing the Company to re-establish their Factory at Masulipatam...... Trade at Bantam precarious, from the opposition of the Dutch, and the reduced rank of the Agency.*

1633-4.—*Conferences between the Privy Council and the Dutch Ambassador, for adjusting the differences between the London and Dutch Companies.... Decision of the Privy Council.... Phirmaund obtained from the Mogul, allowing the Company to trade to Pipley, in Bengal.... The Trade in Persia practicable only by Contracts with the King.*

1634-5.—*The disputes between the King and Parliament render redress to the Company from the Dutch hopeless...... The Council of*

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Surat acknowledge having been engaged in private trade...... Truce between the Viceroy of Goa and the Presidency of Surat...... Trade in Persia precarious, from the character of the King...... Additional Phirmaund obtained from the King of Golcondah, for the extension of the English trade...... The Agency at Masulipatam first attempt the trade to Bengal, on the basis of the Phirmaund obtained from the Mogul in the preceding year...... The Agency at Bantam restored to the rank of a Presidency, and the Agencies on the Coast, and in Bengal, made subordinate to it.

1635-6.—*Sir William Courten obtains a Licence from the King to form an Association for Trade to India...... Company petition the King against this licence, as an infringement on their chartered privileges...... Company's equipment limited, and their instructions general to their foreign settlements...... The Presidency of Surat form a convention with the Viceroy of Goa...... The Presidency of Bantam recommend, that the fortifications at Armagon should be strengthened.*

1636-7.—*Company disapprove of the convention with the Portuguese, and petition that a declaration should be obtained from the Crown of Spain, admitting their rights...... Company petition the King for redress for the depredations of Courten's ships in the East-Indies...... The Privy Council delay taking the subject into consideration, but recommend that letters should be written by the King to the Governor of Surat, disavowing these depredations...... This event the source of the subsequent piracies in India...... The trade at Surat suspended by the interference*

interference of Courten's ships...... Correspondence between the President of Surat and Captain Weddel, commander of Courten's ships..... New contract for silk, with the King of Persia...... The trade on the Coromandel Coast begins to be productive...... The Presidency of Bantam open a trade for pepper at Palambang and at Banjarmassin.

1637-8.—*Privileges, nearly equal to those of the Company, conferred on Courten...... Company's petition and remonstrance to the Crown, for relief, referred to the Attorney General and others, to report; —but the grant to Courten confirmed;—and the Company enjoined not to trade at the ports where Courten had established Factories...... Despondency of the Directors on this occasion...... Their order to the Surat Presidency to persevere in the trade...... Depressed state of the Company's trade in this year, from the interferences of Captain Weddel ...... Frauds of Agent Gibson in Persia...... President Fremlin's report on the Persian trade.*

1638-9.—*Company petition the King for an arrangement of their trade with the Dutch, and with Courten's Association...... Referred to a Committee of the Privy Council, to suggest a plan for an union between the Company and Courten's Association...... Present a second petition, when the King promises to renew their Charter...... Statement of losses sustained from the Dutch...... Effect of the proceedings of Captain Weddel on the Company's trade...... Presidency of Surat mediate in a peace between the Mogul and Portuguese...... New silk contract in Persia...... Armagon found an unfavorable station for trade.*

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1639-40.—*Company renew their petitions to the King and Council ...... King resolves to revoke Courten's licence, and to renew the Company's Charter, on condition of their raising a new Joint Stock...... Conditions of the projected Fourth Joint Stock...... Trade at Surat depressed by the Dutch searching Company's ships for Portuguese property, and by Courten's shipping...... Effect of the new regulations for the Persian trade...... Phirmaund obtained from the King of Golcondah for additional privileges of trade at Masulipatam...... The Naig of Madraspatam offers permission to the English to settle at that port, and the Portuguese at St. Thomé friendly to the project.*

1640-1.—*The necessities of the Crown oblige the King to take the Company's store of pepper on credit, and to sell it at a reduced price ...... Report to the King on the failure of the projected subscription for a Fourth Joint Stock, and petition for redress of grievances...... Embarrassment of trade at Surat, and in Persia, by Courten's Agents and the Dutch...... Trade opened at Bussorah...... Madras taken possession of by the Company's Agent, on a grant from the Naig of the district, and Fort St. George erected...... The President and Council of Bantam make exertions to preserve that trade.*

1641-2.—*The appearances of Civil War render the applications of the Company to the Crown unavailing...... Company apply to Lord Cottington, and to the House of Commons, for payment of the bonds granted by the King, as security for the pepper debt...... The Presidency of Surat, on hearing of the separation of the Crowns of Portugal*

and

and Spain, form a convention with the Viceroy of Goa, for mutual defence...... Trade in Persia precarious, from its being unknown, whether its King intended to protect the Company or Courten's Association ...... The Agency at Fort St. George rendered subordinate to Bantam ..... Presidency of Bantam borrow money from Portuguese Merchants, to purchase an investment.

1642-3.—*Commencement of the Civil War...... Company distressed by the non-payment of the bonds for pepper...... Treasury propose to sell certain Crown lands to pay off these bonds...... Subscriptions for the First General Voyage...... The trade at Surat revived, on receiving information of the subscription...... Accession of Sultan Abbas to the throne of Persia, and measures adopted for renewing the Phirmaunds...... First regular communications from Madras, and from Bengal...... Statement of the respective interests of the Third Joint Stock, and First General Voyage, at Bantam.*

1643-4.—*Effect of the Civil Wars on the Company's equipments and trade...... The trade chiefly directed to the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts...... Competition between the English and Dutch, for obtaining Phirmaunds from the Mogul and from his sons...... Jealousy of the Dutch, of the connexion of the English with the Portuguese...... The Court's orders for the Persian trade, from the situation of that country, could not be complied with...... The trade between Madras, Bengal, and Bantam, preserved.*

1644-5.—*The East-India trade affected by the continuation of the Civil Wars...... Discretionary orders given for the provision of investments*

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ments...... Surgeon Boughton's influence at the Mogul's court, the means of confirming the English trade in Bengal...... Dutch form a convention with the Portuguese at Goa...... Persian trade decreased, from silk not being so much worn in England as formerly...... Affairs at Fort St. George assume a promising aspect.

1645-6.—*The Civil Wars render the sales of Indian produce uncertain...... The convention between the Dutch and Portuguese depressed the trade between Surat and Goa...... The Dutch obtained favorable Phirmaunds from the King of Persia, from having a large fleet in the Persian Gulf...... Phirmaund solicited from the King of Golcondah for confirming the grant of Madras to the English.*

1646-7.—*The regular Government of England being overset, the Company's equipments were small, and the instructions discretionary ...... The effect of the competition in the Surat trade, between the English and Dutch, obliged both parties to come to an accommodation ...... Courten's Association form a colony at Madagascar, which ruins their trade...... New Phirmaunds obtained in Persia, but the Company's trade depressed by Courten's ships at Gombroon.*

1647-8.—*Company, with the approbation of the Parliament, project a new Subscription...... The English trade in Surat, and in Persia, injured by the Dutch imports of pepper and the finer spices..... Trade at Madras depressed by a famine and not receiving pepper from Bantam.*

1648-9.—*The fall of the Monarchy obliged the Company to act with secrecy in their equipments and stock...... Trade at Surat revives, from the*

the war between the Moguls and Persians...... The trade at Madras affected by the wars between the Kings of Visiapore and Golcondah...... Trade at Bantam almost suspended for want of funds. CHAP. I. Contents.

1649-50.—*Establishment of the Council of State...... A Fourth Joint Stock projected by the Company, as the basis of an application to the Council of State, for the renewal of their privileges...... Company's memorial to the Council of State, specifying their losses by Courten's Association and the Assada Merchants...... An union between the Company and the Assada Merchants recommended by the Council of State ...... Objections of the Assada Merchants to this union..... Company's answer to these objections...... An union between the Company and the Assada Merchants agreed on...... Application of the Company to Parliament for an act confirming their privileges, on the basis of this union ...... An United Joint Stock formed for this mixed trade...... Equipments and instructions of the Court to their foreign settlements...... Difficulties of the Agents and Factors abroad, in appropriating the mixed funds of the Proprietors in the purchase of an investment...... The opposition, by Courten's ships, and by the Dutch, obstructed the trade, though the stock received at Surat had lessened the debt...... The Persian trade productive, but apprehensions entertained that the King would think unfavorably of the Company, from the calamities in England ...... Trade at Bantam depressed by the captures made by the Dutch.*

1650-1.—*Petition of the Company to Parliament for redress of grievances and compensation from the Dutch;—referred to the Council of State*

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State..... Captain Blackman appointed President of Surat, with instructions to suppress private trade...... Similar instructions given to the President and Council of Bantam...... The Presidency of Surat obtain Phirmaunds from the Mogul for the enlargement of their privileges..... Company's credit at Surat improved, by a large receipt of stock..... The settlers on the Island of Assada offer to resign the plantation to the Presidency of Surat...... Courten's Factors at Rajahpore, offer to transfer their factory to the Company...... The Persian trade and customs precarious, from the power of the Dutch in the Gulf...... The trade at Madras, and Masulipatam, depressed, by the wars between the Kings of Visiapore and Golcondah...... The King of Golcondah proposes to form a joint coasting trade with the English...... The Portuguese, by interfering with the religion of the natives, expose the settlements of the Europeans to great danger.

1651-2.—*Commonwealth established, and a foreign war expedient to find employment for the fleets and armies.... Company petition Parliament for redress of grievances from the Dutch;—and for a fleet to protect their homeward-bound shipping;—and authority to enforce obedience in their servants in India...... Repeat their petition against the Dutch, accompanied with a statement of losses...... The investment at Surat limited, from an apprehension of a war with the Portuguese..... The Persian trade and customs diminished by the large Dutch fleet at Gombroon...... The Council at Fort St. George remonstrate against the Court's order for discontinuing the fortifications, as the Dutch had improved*

improved those at Pullicat...... Obtain a Phirmaund from the Nabob, for inland trade...... The Factors in Bengal obtain a Phirmaund for trade, on payment of 3000 *Rupees.*

1652-3.—*The Commonwealth confirmed, and applications of the Company, and of individuals, against the Dutch, encouraged by the Council of State...... Further petitions of the Company and of individuals to the Council of State, for redress from the Dutch...... War declared against Holland...... The accounts of the Fourth Joint Stock adjusted...... The foreign Presidencies, and Agencies, vested with discretionary powers...... The Presidency of Surat apply to the Mogul for protection against the Dutch...... Obtain a Phirmaund for protection and increased privileges...... Recommend that Bombay and Bassein should be purchased from the Portuguese..... State of the trade in Persia, before the intelligence of the Dutch war was received...... After the knowledge of that event reached Persia...... Measures at Fort St. George, on receiving intelligence of the war with Holland.*

1653-4.—*The Parliament dissolved, and Cromwell declared Protector...... Company petition Cromwell to be allowed to make reprisals on the Dutch, and propose to raise a subscription for that Purpose...... The Mogul refuses to interfere in the war between the English and Dutch ...... Trade at Surat suspended, on the appearance of a Dutch fleet off Swally...... Four of the Company's ships captured by the Dutch in the Gulf of Persia...... The Company's property removed from Bussorah to Gombroon...... Fort St. George made a Presidency...... Inland*

CHAP. I. Contents. *trade on the Coast of Coromandel impracticable, from the convulsed state of the country; and coasting trade hazardous, from the superior force of the Dutch...... Fort St. George the only security to the English trade on the Coromandel Coast...... The connexion between Madras and Bengal kept open...... Trade at Bantam nearly suspended, on account of the war with the Dutch.*

1654-5.—*The Parliament summoned by Cromwell, beginning to question his authority, dissolved.....Company petition Cromwell, that Bassein and Bombay might be ceded to them......Treaty of Westminster, between England and Holland...... Articles in this treaty, ascertaining the Company's rights, and compensation for their losses...... Proceedings of the Commissioners appointed under this treaty, to ascertain the respective claims of the London and Dutch East-India Companies...... Their award...... The Adventurers in the United Joint Stock, joined with the Assada Merchants, petition the Council of State, that the trade to the East-Indies should be carried on by an open Company, each member having liberty to employ his own stock and shipping...... Answer of the East-India Company to this petition...... Reply of the Merchant Adventurers to the Company's answer...... The petitions and replies referred to a Select Committee of the Council of State, who remit the subject to the consideration of the whole Council of State...... The Company send orders to all their foreign settlements to reduce their establishments..... The Merchant Adventurers fit out ships for India, and petition the Council of State for liberty to export foreign bullion...... Expedients used by*

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by the Presidency of Surat to obtain small investments, and preserve the Company's rights...... The Persian trade suspended, from the navigation between Gombroon and Surat being impeded by the Dutch..... The trade at Fort St. George at a stand, from the inland wars, and the superior force of the Dutch...... Measures for reviving the trade at Bantam.

1655-6.—*Political situation of England...... Treaty with France, and probability of war with Spain...... The Council of State postpone their decision on the petitions of the Company and of the Merchant Adventurers...... The Proprietors of the Third and Fourth Joint Stocks, and of the United Stock, petition the Protector and the Council of State, each claiming the exclusive right to the Island of Polaroon, and to the £*85,000 *obtained from the Dutch...... The petitions referred by the Council of State to arbitrators, and the money vested in trustees, till a decision of the respective claims should be pronounced..... The Protector proposes to the Company to borrow the £*85,000, *who agree to lend him £*50,000...... *Company order their foreign Settlements to call in all debts, and vest the amount in fine goods and saltpetre...... General account of the debts and credits of the United Joint Stock, on the* 1*st September* 1655...... *The Protector acknowledged the rights of the Company, but gave commissions to the Merchant Adventurers, who fitted out three ships for India...... These mixed events produce an opinion in Holland, that the East-India Company had been dissolved...... The number of the Company's servants reduced at the foreign Settlements, and the Court referred, for an account of their affairs in India, to the verbal information of their servants, who had returned to England, rather than to written documents.*

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1656-7.—*War with Spain and alliance with France...... The Company and the Merchant Adventurers allowed to proceed with their respective equipments...... Company petition the Protector for confirmation of their Charter by Act of Parliament...... This petition referred to the Council of State, by whom it is referred to a Select Committee.....Report of this Select Committee, again referring the subject to the whole Council of State...... Decision of the Council of State, that the East-India trade should be carried on by the Company, or an United Joint Stock...... This decision confirmed by the Protector, who declared his intention to grant a new Charter to the East-India Company...... Retrospect of the arguments of the Merchant Adventurers, for an open trade to the East-Indies, as rejected by the Protector...... Instructions sent by their Merchants to their commanders and factors in India, on this rejection...... The Presidency of Surat suspend all trade, till the question of the Company's right should be decided in England...... This suspension of the English trade enabled the Dutch to conquer Ceylon and blockade Goa...... Effect of the interferences of the Merchant Adventurers on the trade of Surat;—and in Persia...... The trade at Fort St. George depressed by the Merchant Adventurers, and by the first invasion of the Carnatic, by Sevagee;—and the trade at Bantam, by the Dutch, and by the desertion of several of the Company's servants.*

1657-8.—*Unsettled state of England...... Parliament assembled and dissolved...... Union between the Company and the Merchant Adventurers, and formation of a New Joint Stock...... Adjustment, under this union, of the claims on the quick and dead stock of the Company......*

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with Spain...... The States General send Commissioners to England, to renew the treaties of alliance, and to restore the Island of Polaroon..... Polaroon desolated by secret orders from the Governor of the Bandas..... Company petition the King for redress, and to be restored to their proportion of the spice trade...... Company's instructions to their foreign Settlements...... Company petition the King for the restoration of their Charter, and exclusive privileges...... Substance of the Charter granted by King Charles II. to the Company, April 3, 1661...... Rights conferred or restored by this Charter...... Affairs at Surat nearly in the same state, as in the preceding season, but the plan of getting possession of Muscat had failed...... Trade reviving at Fort St. George...... The factory at Hughly threatened by Meer Jumlah, the Mogul General, in consequence of the Agent having seized one of his junks.

Results from the preceding detail of events, ascertaining the Company's rights, from Elizabeth to Charles II.

CHAPTER I.

REVIEW OF THE ANNALS OF THE LONDON EAST-INDIA COMPANY, FROM ITS ESTABLISHMENT BY THE CHARTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH (1600), TO THE RESTORATION OF ITS PRIVILEGES BY THE CHARTER OF KING CHARLES II. (1601).

The resources of the great monarchies in Europe, during the sixteenth century, unequal to the progress of civilization.

THE progress of civilization in Europe, during the sixteenth century, had been general, and nations had been assuming those aspects, which necessarily unfolded, to each of them, their comparative strength and resources. On the continent, regular armies had been established, and, with discipline, had become more formidable than the temporary martial levies, which feudal sovereigns could bring into the field; but those armies were only embodied in the powerful monarchies, which, from the absolute nature of their governments, could command resources for their maintenance.

New resources from the protection

The resources from the royal demesnes, and feudal tenures, bore no proportion to the magnitude of military charges, and

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given to the useful arts and to trade:

it was to obtain larger resources, that encouragements began to be given to the useful arts, and to trade;—as a return for such encouragements, sums of money were paid, and annual duties, or taxes, levied on the inhabitants of the towns which enjoyed protection;—these duties, or taxes, the industrious artisans and traders willingly paid, as the price of the privileges, which, in progress of time, became more defined in their characters, and were known under the description of the rights of incorporations.

Improvement in navigation combined the trade in staples with that of foreign merchandize.

For a series of years, industry had few objects, and was employed only in improving, by art, the staple produce of kingdoms and states, for the consumption of the inhabitants. The extent of improvement, thus, was limited, and the value which it could contribute to the resources of a state, narrow, if not precarious. When this industry had been employed on the staples (wine, cloths, &c.) of different nations, and had rendered them articles of luxury or of necessity, to neighbouring countries, the intercourse of states and kingdoms began to be enlarged, and enterprize to be engrafted on industry. This new aspect of civilizing Europe was happily seconded by the discoveries in mathematics, and the natural sciences, which facilitated navigation, and rendered the productions of the most distant countries, articles of necessity and luxury to each: — civilization of manners, thus, encouraged industry, and the numerous branches of industry furnished articles which reciprocally favoured civilization, and brought forward the useful arts and sciences, which improved the one, and refined the other. France, Spain, and Germany, are examples, on the continent, of this progress of civilization and industry;

industry; and the discovery of America, and of the passage to the East-Indies, are examples of the aids, which the spirit of enterprize drew from the discoveries in the useful arts and sciences, which facilitate the intercourse between the continent of Europe and countries which had been, hitherto, unknown, or to which the Europeans had but partially resorted.

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This as much the source of the English enterprises in foreign trade, as probity was of English credit.

England, during this progress, if it did not possess, internally, many articles which could become subjects of industry, on so extensive a scale as the greater continental monarchies and states, from this very circumstance was stimulated to enterprizes, for obtaining the produce of other countries, to become the materials upon which industry could be exerted, or ingenuity employed, to increase the assortments required in trade, by adding to its staples the productions of its manufactures:—by this expedient, England augmented its means for commerce, and the English merchants combined staples with foreign merchandize, in their assortments of cargoes.

It was in this stage of English industry, of useful arts, of commerce, and of navigation, that we discover the gradual rise of a new principle, derived from probity in mercantile dealings, or the principle of credit, which, for a time, experienced competitions among the commercial and maritime powers of Europe, but, ultimately, became proverbial:—navigation and commerce, by degrees, extended credit, and as that of the English merchants began to be better understood, its superiority was gradually recognised. The resources of the kingdom, by these means, necessarily increased with its mercantile credit, and its influ-

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ence was admitted in the balance of power establishing, at this period, among the European nations. At one time it appeared as a check upon the ambitious projects of universal monarchy; at another, it was the arbiter of the reciprocal projects of nations for aggrandizement:—the first was the state of England, during the reign of Henry VIII.; the second, its state, during the long and able administration of Queen Elizabeth.

Associations in England for extending foreign trade and credit.

The spirit of enterprise in distant trade, which had, for a century, brought large resources to Spain and to Portugal, could not but diffuse itself, as a new principle, in the rising commerce of England:—hence associations were beginning to be formed, the joint credit of which was to support experiments, for extending the trade of the realm.

Establishment of the Russia Company.

During the reign of Edward VI., the first instances occurred of voyages of discovery receiving the protection of the crown to the adventurers, who were to embark their property in commercial schemes to the Northern parts of Europe; and though the death of this young monarch took place, before a charter was granted to the Russia Company, this charter, which had received his encouragement, was obtained from Philip and Mary, in the year 1554-5, under the name of *The Merchant Adventurers for the Discovery of Lands, Countries, Isles, &c., not before known to the English.* As this project was supported by the first nobility and officers of state, the Company assumed a regular system of administration, by having a Governor (Sebastian Cabot) and twenty-eight persons, of whom four were to be consuls, and twenty-four assistants,

assistants, and to have perpetual succession, and a common seal.[1]

In the last year of Queen Mary's reign, the trade of this Company extended through Russia into Persia, to obtain raw-silk, &c. It was in the prosecution of this branch of the trade, that the adventurers met with merchants from India and China, from whom a knowledge of the productions of those countries, and the profits of them in trade, was communicated, on their return to England.

Establishment of the Levant, or Turkey Company.

Queen Elizabeth, towards the latter years of her reign, when the struggle she had to maintain with the continental powers, called for new and more enlarged resources, gave similar encouragements to a new mercantile association, or the Levant Company, having, previously to granting them a charter, settled preliminaries at Constantinople, for protection to her subjects, trading to Turkey. In the charter to this Company, in 1581, it was specified, that it was given "to obtain a good vent for the "commodities of the realm, to the advancement of her honor and "dignity, and the increase of her revenue"; and it is remarkable, that the provisions in this charter, *viz*, that the exclusive grant might be revoked, on one year's previous notice, and, if profitable to the kingdom, that it should be renewed at the end of seven years, afford the first instance of that cautious policy, with which the Queen conferred commercial privileges on her subjects. [2]

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(1)—Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii. page 98.

(2)—Ibid................................pages 152, 153.

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The information derived from these Companies, the source of the direct trade between England and the East-Indies.

The Levant, or Turkey Company, in the prosecution of their trade, having sent merchants, with cloths, from Aleppo to Bagdat, and thence down the Persian Gulf, attempted to open an overland trade to the East-Indies, and having obtained Indian articles at Agra, Lahore, Bengal, and even at Malacca, on their return to England, brought information of the riches to be acquired by a trade to the East-Indies. This information first gave rise to the project of opening a communication, by sea, between England and Asia. (1)

Discoveries of Drake and Cavendish.

The impression which this information had created, was encouraged, previously to this time, by the voyage of Sir Francis Drake round the world, from 1577 to 1580, who, with five ships, had navigated the Straits of Magellan, with the object of making prizes of the rich Spanish ships in the South Seas, and who, to avoid the Spanish cruizers, had returned to Europe, by the Moluccas and the Cape of Good Hope. The example of Sir Francis Drake was followed, in 1586, by Mr. Thomas Cavendish, who, in like manner, navigated the Straits of Magellan, and returned by the Cape of Good Hope. The wealth which these celebrated navigators brought to England in gold, silver, &c., though obtained by making prizes of the Spanish vessels, induced the English merchants to form the opinion, that, great profits and national advantages might be acquired, by fitting out ships to follow a direct trade to India, and, by sales or purchases, to increase the commerce, and improve the navigation, of the realm;—and, besides, that they might have the

(1)—Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii. page 179.

the chance of making prizes from the Portuguese and Spaniards, which would defray, in part, the charges of the equipments. CHAP. I.

That this was a prevailing disposition among the English merchants at this time, appears from a memorial presented to the Lords of Council, in October 1589, which is introduced with a survey of the Portuguese settlements on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, their occupation of Malacca, and the Bandas and Moluccas, and which infers, that, in the countries bordering on the Indian and China Seas, and in the peninsula of India, there were many ports which might be visited with advantage by English ships, at which sales might be made of English cloths, and other staple and manufactured articles, and purchases obtained of the produce of those countries; and concluded, that such a trade would, by degrees, add to the shipping and seamen of the kingdom, and to its naval force, in the same manner as the Portuguese fleets had been increased:— They, therefore, requested the Queen's licence for three ships, the Royal Merchant, the Susan, and the Edward, and three pinnaces, to be equipped, and protected in this trade, without being subject to any other condition, than that of the payment of the duties of customs on their return.(1)

1589. Memorial of the English merchants, in 1589, to Queen Elizabeth, for permission to send ships to the Indies.

This memorial appears to have been favorably received, as, in 1591, Captain Raymond, with three ships, was sent on this experiment; and although losses by sea disappointed the adventurers in their speculation, the knowledge which Captain Lancaster, the survivor, had acquired of the practicability of the

1591. Captain Raymond's experiment of trade to the East-Indies, in 1591.

(1)—Memorial of divers Merchants to the Lords of the Council, regarding the East-India Trade, October 1589. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, vol. i, No. 2. (1 A).)

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the scheme, encouraged other adventurers, subsequently, to embark in a similar project. (1)

1596. Messrs. Adam and Bromfeild's project of a voyage to China, in 1596; and the Queen's letter to the Emperor in their favor.

Though there does not remain any account of equipments, or stock, of any adventure from England to the East-Indies, from this period till 1596, it appears that, in this year, one or more ships were prepared for a trade to China; as Queen Elizabeth granted her letters of recommendation to the Emperor of China to *Richard Adam* and *Thomas Bromfeild*, merchants and citizens of London. It is memorable, that in this letter, besides recommending those merchants to the Emperor's protection, and vouching for the probity of their dealings, the Queen expressed her desire to be informed, through them, of those institutions, by which the empire of China had become so celebrated for the encouragement of trade; and, in return, offered the fullest protection to the subjects of China, should they be disposed to open a trade to any of the ports in her dominions. (2)

1599. The progress of the Dutch led to the contract of the London Adventurers, in 1599, for a voyage to the East-Indies, on a joint subscription.

Whether it was from the information collected from these detached voyages to the East-Indies, from the example of the associations, which have been specified, as having received the protection of the crown, or from the Dutch, at this juncture, forming associations for a trade to the East-Indies, it is impossible to decide; but it is probable, that the whole of these circumstances had the effect, in 1599, to bring forward an association of Merchant Adventurers, to embark, what was then considered

(1)—Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 180.

(2)—(Draft). Letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of China, dated at Greenwich, 16th July 1596. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, vol. i, No. 2).

considered a large stock, on a voyage to the East-Indies. The contract of these Adventurers, citizens of London, is valuable, from its being the first authentic deed which occurs in the annals of our East-India trade ;— it is intitled, "The names of suche "p̃sons as have written with there owne handes, to venter in the "p̃tended voiage to the Easte-Indias (the whiche it maie please "the Lorde to prosper), and the somes that they will adventure ; "the xxij September 1599." (1) The fund subscribed amounted to £30,133. 6*s*. 8*d*., which was divided into one hundred and one shares or adventures, the subscriptions of individuals varying from £100 to £3000.

— who appoint Committee-men, or Directors.

On the 24th September 1599, a general meeting of these adventurers was held, the result of which was, a resolution to apply to the Queen, for her royal assent to a project, "intend-"ed for the honor of their native country, and the advance-"ment of trade and merchandize within the realm of England ; "and to set forth a voyage this year to the East-Indies, and "other islands and countries thereabouts :"— a description which shows, that the project was general, and intended for opening a trade, at any of the ports in the East-Indies, at which it might be practicable to sell Europe, or purchase Indian produce. The precision with which the first general regulations were drawn, discovers that the project had already been matured, and prepared to be carried into immediate execution.

The first measure was to prevent the funds from being contributed

(1)—M.S. in the Indian Register Office, East-India House, marked 9, bound in green canvas, being minutes of the First Courts of Adventurers for trade to the East-Indies.

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tributed in any other form than money; for it was agreed, that no ship should be received as the stock of any adventurer:— the next measure was, to place the management of the business in fifteen Committee-men, or Directors, who were appointed to prepare and regulate the projected voyage;— farther, to simplify the business, it was resolved, that the share of no future adventurer should be less than £200, and that a call should be made of twelve per cent. on each share, to be employed as an immediate fund, for the purchase and equipments of vessels for the voyage. (1)

—petition the Queen for a warrant to fit out three ships, and to export bullion.

As evidence of the preparation which had been made, for speedily carrying the objects of this association into execution, the Committees, or Directors, at their first meeting, on the 25th September 1599, divided themselves into two Committees;—to one of which was entrusted the means of devising an application to the Lords of the Privy Council, for privileges: and to the other, the provision of shipping for the intended voyage. A petition, at the same meeting, having been prepared, was approved of by the Court, which stated, that "divers merchants, "induced by the successe of the viage performed by the Duche "Nacon, and being informed that the Duchemen prepare for a "new viage, and to that ende have bought divers ships here, in "Englande, were stirred with noe lesse affeccon to advaunce the "trade of their native countrie, than y^e Duche merchaunts were "to benefite theire commonwealthe, and upon y^t affeccon have resolved

(1)—Minutes of Adventurers, 24th September 1599, (Indian Register Office.)

" resolved to make a viage to the East Indias :"—they therefore requested, that they might be incorporated into a company, with succession; " for that the trade of the Indies being soe " remote, could not be traded on, but on a jointe and united " stock;"—that their shipping should not be stopped, " as the " delay of one monthe might lose a whole yeares viage;"—that they might be allowed to export foreign coin, and if there should be a want of it, that bullion should be coined for them in the Queen's Mint;—and that they should be exempted from payment of customs, for six voyages, on the ground that the Dutch merchants were exempted, for several years, from payment of customs, on export or import.(1)

This petition having been favorably received by the Privy Council, a Committee was again appointed, on the 4th October 1599, to continue the solicitations of the Adventurers to their Lordships. On the 16th October, the Queen's approbation of the voyage having been signified, the Committee were directed to endeavour to obtain from the Privy Council, a warrant for allowing the Adventurers to proceed on the voyage, and that they might have liberty to carry out five thousand pounds weight of bullion, as a stock for the trade; and also to frame a draft of privileges, which the Directors, on a future occasion, were to request from Her Majesty.(2)

Their voyage retarded, by a treaty pending between the Queen and the crown of Spain.

The zeal with which the East-India Adventurers, and their Committees opened their proceedings, was, for a time, checked by

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(1)—Minutes, 25th September 1599.

(2)—Minutes, 4th and 16th October 1599.

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by one of those public events, which discovers the necessity of private interests being accommodated to the state of public affairs. At this juncture, the negotiations between Queen Elizabeth and the crown of Spain, were under the consideration of the respective ministers of the two crowns, and as any privileges, which the Queen might grant, must be accommodated to the terms of the treaty, the progress of the East-India voyage was, for a time, suspended. The Directors, however, anxious for the success of the undertaking, overlooked this public circumstance, and solicited a warrant, that they might be allowed to proceed on the voyage, notwithstanding the treaty which was negotiating; — but their petition was refused by the Privy Council, on the ground that " it was more beneficiall for the " generall state of merchandize to entertayne a peace, then that " the same should be hindred, by the standing w^th^ y^e^ Spanishe " comissions, for the mayntayning of this trade, to forgoe the " oportunety of the concluding of the peace; whereuppon the " Adventurors, fearing lest, after they were drawen into a charg, " they shuld be required to desist ther viage, did proceade noe " further in the matter, for this yere, but did enter into the " preparacon of a viage the next yere followinge."(1)

Their memorial, distinguishing the Countries in the Indies to which the Spanish-Portuguese had trade, from those in which trade might be opened.

This event, instead of damping the spirit of enterprize by which those Adventurers were animated, tended only to induce them to make the most minute inquiries into the actual state of the countries to which the Spaniards might claim an exclusive trade. As the Spanish commissioners might refuse to give information on this

(1)—Minutes of Court, October 1599.

this subject, the Adventurers presented a memorial to the Queen and Privy Council, describing the countries or ports, to the commerce of which Spain could not pretend an exclusive right; and, on the basis of this information, rested their petition for the Queen's licence, or grant, for permission to her subjects to trade to the East-Indies, without involving her in any questions which either might postpone, or could prevent the conclusion of the pending treaty between England and Spain. As this memorial comprehends more full information on the subject, than could have been expected, at this early period of geographical and historical knowledge, it is, in itself, an authenticated view of the grounds upon which the Queen, and the Lords of the Council, listened to the petition of the Adventurers, and forms an interesting link in the annals of East-India trade, and is, as follows: —

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" *Certayne Reasons, why the English Marchants may trade into*
" *the East-Indies, especially to such rich kingdoms and domi-*
" *nions as are not subjecte to the Kinge of Spayne and Por-*
" *tugal; together with the true limits of the Portugals con-*
" *quest and jurisdiction in those oriental parts.*

" Whereas, Right Honorable, upon a treatie of peace be-
" tweene the crownes of England and Spayne like to ensue, yt is
" not to be doubted, but that greate exception wil bee taken
" agaynst the intended voyage of Her Ma^ties subjects into the
" East-Indies, by the Cape of Buena Sperança; therefore the
" Adventurers in the sayd intended voyage most humbly crave,

" at

CHAP. I. 1599. "at yor Honors hands, to take perfecte knowledge of these fewe "considerations underwritten.

"First, they desire, that it wold please yor Honors to urge "the comissioners of the Spanish peace, to put downe, under "their hands, the names of al such islands, cities, townes, "places, castels, and fortresses, as they are actually, at this "present, possessed of, from the sayd Cape of Buena Sperança, "along the Cost of Africa, on the Cost of Arabia, in the East-"Indies, the Malucos, and other oriental parts of the world: "which, if they may bee drawne truly and faythfully to put downe, "so that wee cannot be able, manifestly, to prove the contrarie, "then wil wee be content, in noe sort, to disturbe nor molest "them, whersoever they are alreadie comanders and in actual "authoritie.

"Secondly, if they wil not, by any meanes, bee drawne to "this themselves, then wee, for yor Lordshippes perfect instruc-"tion in this behalfe, wil take the paynes to doe it for them. "Yt may please yor honors, therefore, to understand, that these "bee al the islands, cities, townes, places, castles, and fortresses, "whereof they be, at this present, actual comaunders, beyond "the Cape of Buena Sperança, eastward.

"*On the Coste of Africa:*

"Sofala, or Zefala,
"Masambique,
"Sena.

"*In*

" *In the Mouth of the Persian Gulfe:*

" Ormuz.

" *From the Persian Gulfe along the Coste of India, Southward:*

" Diu,
" Damaon,
" Baçaim
" Chaul,
" Goa, the seat of the viceroy
" Onor,
" Barçelor
" Mangalor,
" Cananor,
" Cranganor,
" Cochin,
" Coulaom,
" St. Thomé, or Malipur
" Negapatam,
" Manar,
" Columbo, in Ceilon,
" Malaca,
" Maluco, or Tidore,
" Amboyna,
" Macao,
" Manilla, in the island of
" Luçon, one of the Philip-
" pinas, and certayne other
" forts upon that island.

" Thirdly, al the places which are under their government " and comãund being thus exactly and truely put downe, and " wee being able to avouch it to be so, by many evident and in- " vincible proofes, and some eye-witnesses, if need require; yt " then remayneth, that al the rest rich kingdoms and islands of " the East, which are in number very many, are out of their " power and jurisdiction, and free for any other princes or people " of the world to repayre unto, whome the soveraigne lords and " governors of those territories wil bee willing to admitte into " their dominions:—a chiefe parte whereof are these here ensue- " inge.

The

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" *The names of the chiefe knowne Islands and Kingdoms, be-" yond the Cape of Buena Sperança, wholy out of the domi-" nion of the Portugalls and Spaniards, in the East, Southeast, " and Northeast Parts of the World.*

" The Isle of Madagascar, or San Lorenso, upon the " backeside of Africa.

" The kingdoms of Orixa, Bengala, and Aracan, in the " Gulfe of Bengala.

" The rich and mightie kingdome of Pegu.

" The kingdome of Junçalaon.

" The kingdome of Siam.

" The kingdome of Camboia.

" The kingdome of Canchinchina.

" The most mightie and welthy empire of China.

" The rich and goulden island of Sumatra.

" The whole islands of Java Major, Java Minor, and Baly.

" The large and rich islands of Borneo, Celebes, Gilolo, " and Os Papuas.

" The long tracte of Nova Guinea and the Isles of Solomon.

" The rich and innumerable islands of Malucos and " the Spicerie, excepte the two smal isles of Tidore and " Amboyno, where the the Portugals have only two smal forts.

" The large islands of Mindanao and Calamines.

" The goulden islands of the greate and smal Lequeos.

" The manifold and populos sylver islands of the Japones.

" The countrey of Coray, newely discovered to the north " east.

" In

" In all these, and infinite places more, abounding with " greate welth and riches, the Portugales and Spaniards have " not any castle, forte, blockhouse, or comaundment, as wee " are able prove by these authors or witnesses following :—

" *Portugalle Authors, printed and written:*

" Fernando Lopes de Castanneda, his larg volumes of ye " East-Indies.

" John Barros, his 3 decads of Asia.

" Antonio Galvano, of the Discoverours of the new World.

" Hieronymus Osorius, de rebus gestis Emanuelis Regis.

" Duarte Sande, printed at Machao, in China, 1590.

" The notable intercepted Register, or Matricola, of the " whole government of the East-India, in the Madre de Deos, " 1592.

" *Spanish Authors printed in Spayne:*

" Gonsalvo de Oviedo, chronicler for the West-Indies to " Charles the V.

" John Gaetan.

" Francis Lopez de Gomara.

" *Italiens:*

" The first volume of John Baptista Ramusius.

" Cæsar Frederic, which lived 18 yeres in ye Est-Indies, " and returned 1581.

" Petrus Maffeus, printed within these 7 yeres.

" *Englishmen*

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" *Englishmen personally in the Malucos, Java, and many other*
" *parts of the East-Indies:*

" Sir Francis Drak's men, yet living, and his own writings " printed.

" Mr. Thomas Candishe's Companye, yet living, and his " writings printed.

" Mr. Ralph Fitche's travayles through most of the Portugal " Indies, in print.

" Mr. James Lancaster's and his companyes voyage, as farre " as Malaca, printed.

" *Hollanders:*

" John Huygen de Linschoten's worke, which lived above " 7 yeres in India.

" The first voyage of the Hollanders to Java and Baly, in " printe.

" The second voyage to Java, in Dutch and English.

" The testimonie of William Pers, Englishman, with them " in ye sayd voyage.

" The third returne of the Hollanders from the Est-Indies " this yere.

" Fourthly, let them shewe any juste and laweful reasons, " voyd of affection, and partialitie, why they should barre her " Matie, and al other Christian princes and states, of the use of " the vaste, wyde, and infinitely open ocean sea, and of accesse " to the territories and dominions of so many free princes, kings, and

" and potentates in the East, in whose dominions they have noe " more soveraign coṁaund or authoritie, then wee, or any " Christians whosoever." (1)

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—referred by the Queen to the celebrated Fulke Grevile.

The Queen was disposed to have the information contained in this document, fully examined, before she granted the request of the Adventurers, and referred it to the celebrated Fulke Grevile, to examine, and give his opinion, on a subject of such national importance; and if the memorial forms one link, in the events which led to the establishment of the London East-India Company, the answer of this distinguished person to Sir Francis Walsingham, becomes a second, and a most interesting one, and is, as follows:—

" S[r].—You demaunde of me the names of such kings as " are absolute in the East, and either have warr, or traffique, " w[th] the Kinge of Spaigne. I will beginne in Barbarie, with " the kingdoms of Fess and Morocco, w[ch] have either of them " vj or vij pettie kingdoms under them. Then followe the " kingdoms of Gaulata, Tombuto, and Melly; wherof the " firste is poore, and hath smale traffique; the seconde populous, " and rich in corne and beasts, but wanteth salte, w[ch] the Portu-" gal supplieth; the last hath store of corne, flesh, and cotten-" woll, w[ch] are carried into Spaigne in great abundance. The " next is Guine, a greater and richer kingdome then the former, " beinge

(1)—Account of the Limits of the Portugals Jurisprudence in the East-Indies. (East-India Papers, in the State Paper Office, No. 7.)

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" beinge 500 myles in length; and ther both Portugalls, French-" men, and Netherlanders, use much trafficque. The Portu-" galls hould a forte by the Cape of Tres Puntas, from whence " they take many Moores of that countrie prisonners, and make " them slaves, and are therfore much hated in Guine. Beyonde " Guine is the mightie kingdome of Congo, wher the Portugalls " have also trafficque, and a little forte called S^te^ Paule: this " kinge is hable to bringe 400^m^ armed men to the fielde. At " the ryver Coanza beginneth the kingdome of Angola, once " tributary of the Kinge of Congo, now absolute, and hable to " levie a million of men in his owne countrie. In theis p̃tes the " cheife trafficque of the Portugalls and Spaniards is for slaves, " whom they carry from hence by thowsands, to sell in other " cuntries. From Angola, to the Cape of Bona Speranza, " alonge the coast, is the Kinge of Climbeby, and many other " pettie lords, w^ch^ admitt of noe trafficque with strangers in their " dominions. Beyonde the Cape, to the ryver of Magnice, " lieth the kingdome of Buena, w^ch^ hath some store of goulde. " And at that ryver beginneth the kingdome of Sofala, w^ch^ " stretcheth alonge the sea to the ryver of Cuama, and is subject " to the Portugall, onlie to avoyd the tyrrannie of the Kinge of " Monomotapa, who is a mightie prince in the mayne, and hath " manie legions of men and amazons, to guard his cuntrie. In " the mouth of Cuama the Portugalls have a forte, wher they " traffique for gould, yvorie, and amber, brought owt of Mono-" motapa and cuntries adjoyning. At Cuama beginneth the " litle kingdome of Angoscia; and then the kingdome of Mo-

sambique

" sambique, wher the ilands is possessed by the Portugalls, and CHAP. I. 1599.
" the Mayne, now divided almost into as many kingdomes, as
" ther be townes. From the Cape of Bona Speranza to Mosam-
" bique, the people are all heathens and idolaters; from
" Mosambique to the Red Sea, al Mahometans, excepte a few
" Christians planted there since the Portugals cominge. Before
" Mosambique lieth the greate iland of Ste Laurence, inhabited
" by heathens, and divided into fowre governments, wher they
" have both mynes and other riches; but never would traffique
" wth strangers, till of late the Portugalls beganne to use their
" havens, and carried from them amber, wax, sylver, copper,
" rise, and other commodities, brought to them abord their
" shipps, for otherwise they were not suffered to land in the
" iland. Ther be also many other ilands adjoyning, not yet
" discovered. Beyonde Angoscia lye the kingdoms of Quiloa,
" Mombaza, and Melinda, all possessed and wasted by the
" Portugalls: the people are still Mahometans; and acknow-
" ledge the greate kingdome of Monemugi, wch lyeth behind
" them in the continent, confyning wth Nilus, and Prester John.
" That kinge also bartereth gold, sylver, copper, and ivory, for
" the cotton and lynnen wch the Portugalls doe bringe him.
" From Melinde to the Cape of Guardafuy are many petty
" kingdoms, possessed by the white Mahometans, the cheif
" whereof are Pate, Brava, Magadoxo, and Amffion. At the
" said Cape the Portugalls yeerly lye in wayte for the Turkish
" shippes, wch adventure to traffique without their licence;
" houldinge themselves the only coma͂unders of these seas:

R 2 From

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" From the Cape to the mouth of the Red Sea, are also many " smale dominions of white Mahometans, rich in gould, " sylver, ivory, and all kynd of victualls: and behind thes " cuntries, in the mayne, lyeth the great empire of Prester " John, to whom the Portugalls (as some write) doe yeerly send " 8 shipps, laden wth all kynde of merchandise, and also furnish " themselves wth many sayllers owt of his coast townes in the " Red Sea. In the bottom of this sea, at a place called Sues, " the Turckes build gallies, w^{ch} scoure all that coast, as far as " Melinde, and everie yeere annoy the Portugalls exceadinge " much. Beyond the Red Sea, Arabia Fælix is governed by " manie sultans of greate and alsolute power, both by sea and " land, uppon the pointe therof standeth the rich and stronge " cittie Aden, wher both Indians, Persians, Æthiopians, " Turkes, and Portugals, have exceadinge greate traffique. " Beyond the Gulf of Persia that kinge possesseth all the coast, " and hath great traffique wth the Portugals, wth pearles, carpetts, " and other rich com̃odities. The Ile of Ormus lyeth in the " mouth of this golf, and is subject to the Persians, but so that " the Portugals hath a forte in it, and ther is the staple of all " India, Arabia, Persia, and Turkie, whither Christian m^{r}chants " do also resort, from Aleppo and Tripolis, twyse in the yeere. " Beyonde the Persian lieth the kingdome of Cambaia, w^{ch} is the " fruitfullest of all India, and hath exceedinge greate trafficque; " the Portugals possesse ther the towne of Dieu, scituate in an " iland in the mouth of Indus, wher he hath great trade wth the " Cambaians, and all other nations in these p̃tes. Next is the

" cuntrie

" cuntrie of the Malabars, who are the best souldiers of India, " and greatest enemies of the Portugals: it was once an entyer " empier, now divided into many kingdoms; part is subject to " the Queene of Baticola, who selleth greate store of pepper " to the Portugals, at a towne called Onor, w^{ch} they hould in " her state; the rest of Malabar is divided into fyve kingdoms, " Cochin, Chanonor, Choule, Coulon, and Calechut; the last " was the greatest, but, by the assistance of the Portugals, " Cochin hath now prevayled above him. Beyonde the Malabars " is the kingdome of Narsinga, wher the Portugals also " traffique; then the kingdome of Orixen and Bengalen, by " the ryver Ganges, as also of Aracan, Pegu, Siam, Tanassaria, " and Queda. The iland of Sumatra, or Taprobuna, is " possessed by many kynges, enemies to the Portugals; the " cheif is the Kinge of Dachem, who besieged them in " Malacca, and wth his gallies stopped the passage of victualls " and trafficke from China, Japan, and Molucco, till, by a " mayne fleete, the coast was cleared. The Kinge of Spaigne, " in regarde of the importance of this passage, hath often " resolved to conquere Sumatra; but yet nothinge is done. " The Kinges of Acheyn and Tor are, in lyke sorte, enemies to " the Portugals. The Philippinas belonged to the crowne of " China, but, abandoned by him, were possessed by the " Spaniards, who have trafficque ther wth the m̃rchants of " China, which yeerly bring to them above 20 shippes, laden " wth all manner of wares, w^{ch} they carry into New Spaine and " Mexico. They trafficque also with the Chinois at Mackau

" and

CHAP. I. 1599. "and Japan. And, lastlie, at Goa, there is great resort of all "nations, from Arabia, Armenia, Persia, Cambaia, Bengala, "Pegu, Siam, Malacca, Java, Molucca, and China, and the "Portugals suffer them all to lyve ther, after their owne man-"ners and relligions; only, for matter of justice, they are ruled "by the Portugall law. In the yeere 1584, many embassadours "came to Goa from Persia, Cambaia, and the Malabars, and "concluded peace w^th the Portugals; 1586, the Arabians slew "above 800 Portugals.

"Theis collections I have made out of Osorius, Eden's "Decads, and spetially owt of the voyages of John Huighen, "havinge neyther meanes nor tyme to seak other helpes. This, "as it is, I recom̄end it unto yo^u, w^th my love and good will: "From London, this X^th of March 1599 (1600).

"Yo^r verie lovinge frende,

"FOULKE GREVIL." (1)

1600. The Queen's consent to the project of the Adventurers signified by the Privy Council; and seventeen Committee-men, or Directors, elected.

The next general meeting of the Adventurers appears to have been held at Founders'-Hall, on the 23d September 1600; at which it was agreed, "that, for the honor of their native "countrie, and the advauncem^t of the trade of merchaundize, "they have undertaken to sett forth a voiage for the discovery "of the trade of the East-Indyes;" and having obtained the Queen's consent, which was signified to the Adventurers by letters

(1)—Report by the Right Hon. Foulke Grevil to the Secretary of State, respecting the places to which the English might trade in the East-Indies. (East-India Papers, in the State Paper Office, No. 3.)

letters from the Privy Council, it was agreed, "that they would "goe forwards with the voiage," and entrust the management of this business to seventeen Committees, or Directors, who, on this day, held the first Court of Directors of the East-India Association. (1)

CHAP. I. 1600.

Purchase ships.

The activity of this Court, on its formation, may be judged of, from their having, on the 25th September, purchased the ship Susan for £1,600; and this vessel, also (it is worth recording), was the first ship engaged in the service of the East-India Company. The terms on which the ship Susan was purchased, affords evidence of the cautious frugality of the times, as the owners agreed to give £800 for her, after her return from the first voyage.

Call in one-third of the subscriptions.

The next object of the Court was to specify a time, when the third part of the stock which had been subscribed should be paid in to the general fund;—and though the meeting, for this purpose, was held on the 26th September, the payments were directed to be made by the end of the month; which short date for payment was the more necessary, as, at this meeting, it was agreed to purchase the ships Hector and Ascension. (2)

Prepare a draft of a patent of privileges.

On the 30th September 1600, a draft of the patent of privileges to the Society of Adventurers to the East-Indies, which had been prepared by a Mr. Altham (for which he was paid £4), was read and approved of; (3) and ordered to be submitted to the Queen and Privy Council for approbation.

In

(1)—Minutes of a General Court of Adventurers, 23d September 1600.

(2)—Minutes, 25th and 26th September 1600.

(3)—Minutes, 30th September 1600.

CHAP. I. 1600.

In this early stage of the business, an event occurred, which scarcely could have been expected, or an application of the Lord Treasurer, to the Court of Committees, recommending Sir Edward Michelborne to be employed in the voyage; and thus, before the Society of Adventurers had been constituted an East-India Company, that influence which, in the sequel, will be found to be equally adverse to the prosperity of their trade, and to the probity of their Directors, had its commencement.

The Directors, however, notwithstanding the circumstance of their being as yet petitioners for their charter, had the firmness to resist an encroachment, which they considered would have the effect of obstructing the enterprize, and depriving them of the confidence of the proprietors. On consultation, they resolved "*not to employ any gentleman in any place of* "*charge,*" and requested "that they might be allowed to sort "theire business with men of their own qualitye, lest the sus- "picōon of the employm[t] of *gentlemen* being taken hold uppon "by the generalitie, do dryve a greate number of the Adventu- "rers to withdraw their contributions." (1)

As the season was advancing, it became necessary to use dispatch in taking up ships for the intended voyage. The ship, the Malice Scourge, which belonged to the Earl of Cumberland, was offered, on the 4th October 1600, to the Committees, for £4,000, a sum which they deemed too large, but agreed to give £3,500, which this nobleman refused; but, on the following day, sold the vessel, with her stores, to the Society, for £3,700. (2)

On

(1)—Minutes, 3d October 1600.

(2)—Minutes, 4th, 5th, and 6th October 1600.

CHAP. I. 1600.

Take up shipping for the first voyage.

On the 8th of October 1600, the following shipping were taken up, for the first voyage, and assigned over to five of the Committees, in trust for the Adventurers:

	Men.	Tons.
The Malice Scourge	200	600
The Hector	100	300
The Ascension	80	260
The Susan	80	240
A pinnace	40	100
	500	1500

Amount of stock and goods for this voyage.

As the period of the voyage was calculated at twenty months, the charge for the provisions, it was computed, would amount to £6,600. 4*s.* 10*d.*, and the investment, consisting of iron, tin (wrought and unwrought), lead, eighty pieces of broad-cloths of all colours, eighty pieces of Devonshire kersies, and one hundred pieces of Norwich stuffs, with smaller articles, intended for presents to the officers at the ports at which the trade was to be opened, was computed at £4,545, making together, exclusive of the price of the shipping, and the bullion, £11,145. 4*s.* 10*d.* The charges for the officers commanding these ships, though not stated as a general article of expenditure, may be judged of, from the allowances granted to Captain Davis, appointed to the command of one of them, who was to have £100, wages, and £200, on credit, for an adventure; and, as an incitement to activity and zeal in the service, if, on his return, the profit of the voyage should yield two for one, he was to be

 allowed

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allowed £500; if three for one, £1,000; if four for one, £1,500; and if five for one, £2,000; or according to the mercantile ideas of the time, his remuneration was to correspond, in its amount, with his exertions and success. (1)

First Governor and twenty-four Committees, or Directors, elected, in October 1600.

As the season advanced, the prospect of obtaining the patent of incorporation became more certain, (for, on the 30th October 1600, it was sent to the Attorney-General for his opinion); and it was resolved, at a general meeting of the Adventurers, that the management of the affairs of the concern should be conducted, in future, by twenty-four Committees, or Directors, instead of seventeen. These twenty-four Directors were elected on the 30th October 1600, and Alderman Thomas Smith chosen the first Governor, whose name, with those of the other Directors, were to be inserted in the patent.

It became obvious to this meeting of Adventurers, that as the business was now approaching to the incorporation of a company, it would be expedient that each adventurer should pay up his subscription; because, though the Privy Council had given their consent to the voyage, the enterprize could not be undertaken, without the certainty of the requisite funds:—and it is remarkable, that these payments were made by the whole of the Adventurers, with the exception of four only, who withdrew their subscriptions. The constitution and funds of the Society being thus provided for, the first meeting of the twenty-four Committees, or Directors, was held on the 31st October 1600. (2)

The

(1)—Minutes, 8th October 1600.

(2)—Minutes, 30th and 31st October 1600.

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The nearer the prospect of obtaining Letters Patent for the Society, the more necessary it became for the Court to settle all those inferior arrangements, upon which the equipment and progress of the voyage depended :—to the seamen, two months' pay was allowed in advance, to provide them with necessaries, and two months' pay, as an adventure, that they might have an interest in the success of the undertaking. The crew for the Scourge (subsequently named the Red Dragon), was fixed at one hundred and eighty men ; for the Hector one hundred, for the Ascension, eighty ; and for the Susan, eighty ; making together four hundred and forty seamen. It was next settled, that thirty-six factors, or super-cargoes, should be nominated for the voyage ;—three principal factors, or factors of the first class, who were to be allowed each £100 for equipment, and £200 as an adventure ; four factors of the second class, who were each to be allowed £50 for equipment, and £100 adventure ; four factors of the third class, who were to have £30 for equipment, and £50 for an adventure ; and four factors of the fourth class, to be allowed £20 each for equipment, and £40 for adventure. These factors were each to give security for their fidelity, and for what was foreseen to be the greatest risk which the concern had to fear, that they would abstain from all *private trade*, that being deemed, even at this time, the most probable source of breach of trust. (1)

These measures appear to have occupied the attention of the Court of Committees for some time ; but as the certainty of obtaining a Patent of Incorporation became more positive, a commit-

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(1)—Minutes, 6th, 7th, 11th, and 22d November 1600.

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tee was appointed, to report on what letters it might be expedient to solicit from the Queen, to the princes and potentates in India, this being held to be the most obvious expedient for insuring a favorable reception, both to the ships, at the ports at which they might touch, and to the factors, who were to commence their commercial intercourse of sales and purchases. (1)

A general meeting of the Adventurers call in the whole of the subscriptions.

For a similar reason, or the nearer approach of obtaining the Patent, a general meeting of the Adventurers was summoned, on the 8th December, to make up the fund with which the voyage was to be fitted out. At this meeting it was agreed, that the whole of the sum subscribed, by the Adventurers, should be paid in by the 13th of that month, and declared, as the ships were now ready to proceed to sea, that such of the subscribers as should not, at the preceding date, have paid in their proportions, should be held to be liable for any losses that might happen, in consequence of the stipulated subscription not having been made good by them. (2)

Appoint captains, officers and factors.

The state of preparation in which the fleet at this time was, required that the officers, who were to command the different ships, should receive their commissions, and have their respective ranks ascertained. Captain James Lancaster was appointed to the Red Dragon, and made General, or Admiral of the fleet; and Captain Davies, second in command, under the title of Pilot Major. Each of the ships had a factor of the first class on board, with a proportion of subordinate factors; and that full provision

might

(1)—Minutes, 4th December 1600.

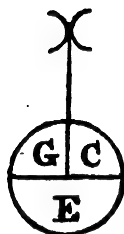
(2)—Minutes, 4th and 8th December 1600.

might be made for this important part of the service, seven factors, without salary, were appointed to supply vacancies:—the amount of the security-bonds to be entered into by the factors was also fixed; that for the factors of the first class being £500 each; for the second class, 500 marks; for the third class, £200; and for the fourth class, £100.(1)

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And a mark for their goods.

The last transaction of the Society of Adventurers, adopting their own language, was, to order "that the goodes "shipped by the Companie, and the caskes, shall be "marked w^th this gen^rall marke, as in the mergent, and "that an iron be prepared, w^ch shal make the saide "marke.(2)"



Precautions of the Queen in guarding against disputes with the Maritime Powers, in the projected Charter to the East-India Company.

That the sources, as well as the provisions of the charter of Queen Elizabeth, may be ascertained, it will be necessary to refer to the political relations, between the Queen and the Maritime states of Europe, because, out of those relations arose the conditions, under which she placed the East-India Company which she was establishing, and to fix the reciprocal rights of companies, already established, in so far as the articles in their trade might be affected, by the projected commerce of the new company, which she was to authorize.

At this critical period, negotiations with Spain, we have seen, had protracted, for a year, the incorporation of the Society of English Adventurers to the East-Indies; and though the alliance with Spain did not take place, till the commencement of the subsequent reign, the basis of that alliance had been fixed.

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(1)—Minutes, 16th and 17th December 1600.

(2)—Minutes, 31st December 1600.

CHAP. I. 1600.

It is also material to notice, that Spain and Portugal were, at this time, united into one sovereignty, and, of course, that the crown of Spain had already possession of the principal ports in the East-Indies, to which the ships and factors of the new Company might probably resort.

It is also proper to refer to the relative circumstances in which the Queen was placed, respecting the States General, or the mixed applications which they were making, for protection from France and from England; and to the breach of the convention between Henry IV. and the Queen, with the approaches which Henry was making, to renew his alliance with England.

These relations of Foreign States, even in a general view, rendered the privileges which the Queen was about to grant to the East-India Company, subjects for her mature consideration, to prevent political discussions between the respective sovereignties, that the Queen might uphold such protection as she might promise to her subjects.

If these were subjects of political delicacy, affecting the Queen's conduct, at this juncture, they became still more delicate, from the events which occured, at this crisis, or the death of Philip II. of Spain, and the transfer of the Spanish Low Countries to the Archduke Albert, and from the Queen's acknowledgement of the Dutch Low Countries, as held, in sovereignty, by the States General, because the more immediate connexion of the English nation with the Low Countries had been long established, and must be preserved, now that these countries were divided between two distinct sovereignties. The subject, thus, became complicated

complicated and mixed, both in a political and commercial view, and the knowledge of it discovers the source of those precautions in the charter, which reserved to the Queen the power of accommodating the Indian trade to her European relations, or the trade carried on by her subjects, with neighbouring countries.

— and in defining the respective rights of the English incorporated Companies.

It is next expedient, in order to ascertain the sources, as well as the conditions in the charter, to refer to the privileges which had been granted to the Russia and Levant Companies; the former having been attempting, by an overland trade, to connect the imports from Persia, with those from the Baltic, and the latter carrying on its commerce with ports in the Mediterranean, from which it was bringing, among its assortments, a proportion of Indian produce, the value of which might be affected by the imports brought into England, or, for the Europe market, by the circuitous voyages of the Company.

With these explanations, we not only can perceive the sources, but also the reasons, of the provisions, by which the Queen guarded, in the new charter to the East-India Company, not only against political discussions with the European maritime nations, but against the complaints which her own subjects might bring, of encroachments on their trade, by the new privileged Association of East-India Adventurers.

It is, at the same time, to be recollected, that already the Queen had so far attended to, and encouraged the Association of Adventurers, as to allow them to fit out ships, and provide stock, for opening, as soon as they might obtain legal authority, a direct trade between England and the East-Indies:—The Queen thus, while

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while she was preserving the rights of her crown, with regard to Foreign Nations, was exercising, at the same time, that wisdom, which she had manifested in her long reign, in encouraging the navigation and the commerce of her subjects.

Charter granted by Queen Elizabeth to the London East-India Company, on 31st December 1600.

The Charter of Queen Elizabeth to the London East-India Company is dated 31st December, in the forty-third year of her reign, or 1600, and, in its preamble, proceeded on the petition of a numerous body of noblemen, gentlemen, and citizens, for licence to trade to the East-Indies.

By this Charter, the Queen, "for the honor of the nation, "the wealth of her people, the encouragement of her subjects "in their enterprizes, the increase of navigation, and the ad- "vancement of lawful traffic," constituted the petitioners a body corporate and politic, by the name of "*The Governor and "Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East-Indies,*" with perpetual succession. They were empowered to purchase lands, &c., and to dispose thereof, and to have a common seal, to ratify and make public their acts:—the management of their concerns was placed under a Governor and twenty-four Committee-men, to be annually chosen in July, in each year, who were to have the direction of voyages, provisions of shipping, and sale of merchandize:—the members of the Company, their sons, of the age of twenty-one years, and their apprentices, factors, and servants, were authorized to carry on trade to the East-Indies (that is, to all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Straits of Magellan), for fifteen years, from Christmas 1600, provided that such trade should not be to any

place

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place in possession of any Christian prince in amity with the Queen, who should publicly declare his objection thereto :—the Company were empowered to assemble, when they thought proper, and make bye-laws, or revoke the same, provided such bye-laws were not repugnant to the laws of England :—as the Company were inexperienced in what commodities were vendible in India, they were allowed to export any unprohibited goods from England, during their four first voyages, free of all customs and duties ;—to carry out £30,000 in bullion, of which £6,000 was to be coined at the Tower, for the first voyage, and the same sum, in any subsequent voyage, during fifteen years, or the continuance of their privileges; and to re-export goods brought from India, in English ships, free of payment of customs :—the privileges of the Company were rendered entire and exclusive, and all other the Queen's subjects prohibited from any interference with them, except by the Company's licence, under penalty of forfeiture of ships and goods, one half to the Queen, the other to the Company, and imprisonment till they gave bond for £1000 :—the Company were empowered to grant licences, under their common seal, on specified conditions, to any persons, to trade to the East-Indies, and the Queen engaged not to grant such licences to any person, for that trade, without the consent of the Company :—the Company engaged to bring into England, as much bullion as they carried out, which was to be laden only at the ports of London, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and the bullion imported, entered at those ports, without payment of customs; the only reservation being, that should the exclusive

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trade of the Company not be profitable to the realm, the crown reserved the right of declaring such exclusive privilege to be void, on a notice being given to the Company, under the Privy Seal, of two years' warning: but even this reservation was modified, by specifying, that, on a petition from the Company, the said exclusive privileges should be continued to them, for fifteen years longer.(1)

Rights of the London East-India Company, under this Charter.

From the spirit and terms of this Charter, it appears, that the London East-India Company were created a body corporate, capable, by the laws of the realm, of purchasing and holding property, as real rights, and suing, or being sued for the same, in all competent courts of law, and that, as such, they were to be held as legal proprietors, in succession, "in all times here-"after:"—that their property, so acquired, was, in general, described to be whatever might be necessary to render their transactions profitable to the kingdom, and comprehended their house and warehouses in London, and the houses and factories which they might establish, within the limits of their exclusive trade:—the former being acquired by them, agreeably to the laws of England, the latter, on the same foundation, but agreeably to the usages of the countries, within the limits to which they were authorized to trade; it being explained, that in the exercise of this right, they were not to interfere with the corresponding rights, which other European powers might have acquired in those countries, so as to produce any disputes between the Queen and her European

(1)—Letters Patent, 31st December, 43d Queen Elizabeth. (Printed Collection of East-India Charters, page 3.)

European allies: and, it is worth observing, that even this limitation establishes the right of the Company to acquire factories, or seats of trade, from any of the native powers or states, to whose dominions they might resort;—that is, that the crown acquiesced in their real rights, under their charter, to factories or privileges, thus obtained.

Geographical survey of the countries within their limits.

Before connecting the transactions of the Society of Adventurers with those of the East-India Company, legalized by charter, it will be proper to take a general geographical and political view, from one extremity of their limits, or the Cape of Good Hope, and stretching round the coasts of India, and the islands connected with it, to the other extremity, or the Straits of Magellan, that an idea may be formed of the practicability of a trade, consisting either of exchanges of merchandize, or of purchase, by the common medium of the precious metals, which would yield a profit to the Adventurers.

At the period when the London East-India Company was incorporated, by charter, in 1600, they were to have a defined range, and not to interfere with the trade of any other of the incorporated companies, which, at this juncture, had limits assigned to them;—hence, a supposed line from the two extremities of their limits was laid down, and it was understood, that their trade was to be confined to the countries, which could be geographically described, as situated within this line.

The Cape of Good Hope, or the great Promontory of Africa, having been doubled by the Portuguese, was considered by them, rather as a landmark, than as a commercial station, and as

such,

CHAP. I. 1600. such, the limits of the Company were defined, by their first Charter, to be, all countries of Asia, Africa, and America, *beyond* the Cape of Bona Esperanza, to the Straits of Magellan, as another extreme point, or mark of limit.

From this point of first discovery, therefore, in a geographical view, we have only to enumerate the coasts and islands, in general, to which the Company's ships were to be permitted to trade, under public authority, with the exception of not interfering with the privileges and trade of the other European nations, occupying stations, or having exclusive factories.

From the Cape of Good Hope, running along the Coast of Africa to the Straits of Babelmandel, the Portuguese had, already, attempted commercial intercourse, and had fixed stations or factories. From these, they had obtained part of the assortments of their cargoes, at Mombaza and Melinda, on the Mozambique Coast, and from the Island of Madagascar, opposite to it; but neither they, nor the Dutch, had been able to fix factories, or fortified stations, at the Straits of Babelmandel, or the entrance into the Red Sea, on account of the barbarous character of the natives.

The Coasts of the Red Sea were better known, because the navigation had been explored by the ancients; and though little traffic had been practicable, on the African side, considerable mercantile interests had prevailed, on the Asiatic side, even in the most remote periods of antiquity.

It was by this sea, that Indian produce had been brought to the Isthmus of Suez, and thence, by caravans, to the ports

in

in the Mediterranean, bordering on those countries which were the ancient seats of civilization, and of those arts and refinements, which passed from Greece to Italy, but which were rather neglected, than forgotten, at the fall of the Roman Empire.

On the revival of civilization, and of commercial intercourse, in Europe, this ancient channel, between it and Asia, was again resorted to, and became one of the principal inlets of that wealth, which raised the maritime republics of Italy to political influence, in Europe; an influence which declined, when the circuitous navigation, by the Promontory of Africa, had made it practicable to carry on the exchanges, between Europe and Asia, on a larger and more profitable scale, and much more so, when, besides the Portuguese, the Dutch and English Companies were authorized, by their respective sovereigns, and with large funds, to become rivals to the Portuguese, and to each other.

The Coasts of Arabia, between the Straits of Babelmandel and the Gulf of Persia, both from the barbarity of the inhabitants and the nature of the climate, had not, with the exception of the town of Aden, near the mouth of the Red Sea, afforded, in any age, the practicability of commercial intercourse; but the Indian commerce, in all ages, had been very extensive by Bussora, situated at the extremity of the Persian Gulf, from which the trade proceeded, by the Euphrates and the Tigris, to Bagdat, and thence was diffused, either through Persia, or by caravans, to Damascus, Aleppo, or Constantinople.

After the circuitous navigation was opened by the Portuguese, one of their great objects, by possessing the Island of Ormus, at the

CHAP. I. 1600. the entrance of the Persian Gulf, was to exclude the India trade from its ancient channels, by furnishing not only articles from that country, silks, &c., which might be exchanged in India, for Indian produce, but Persian silks and drugs to make a part in the assortment of their cargoes for Europe; and it was with this traffic, that the Dutch and English Companies will be found, early, to have interfered, and the latter, in a particular manner, to have established agencies in Persia, the produce from which was better known in Europe, than in India, and, of course, a primary object in the early transactions of the London East-India Company.

From the mouth of the Persian Gulf to the Indus, the nature of the country did not admit of commercial intercourse. Between this riverand the Gulfs of Cutch and Cambaya, and thence along what is known by the name of the Malabar Coast, at the extremity of which, or Cape Comorin, in the vicinity of the Island of Ceylon, and thence up the Coromandel Coast, and that of Orissa, to the different outlets of the Ganges, and thence to the confines of Aracan, were situated the ports to which the Company's commerce was chiefly to be directed. Of many of those ports, or stations, the Portuguese, for a century, had possessed the exclusive trade, and the Dutch were beginning to participate in it. As the rich and extensive provinces, in what is termed India, or the Peninsula of Hindostan, were connected with those ports, the object was, to establish trade and factories, at the stations to which the Portuguese had not resorted.

The

The limits of the London East-India Company, also, extended to the coasts of Aracan, Pegu, and the Peninsula of Malacca, thence to the Islands of Sumatra and Java, and to what are commonly termed the Spice Islands, or the Moluccas and Bandas. On the first of those coasts, or Aracan, and Pegu, the Portuguese had traded, and they had established a fortification and town on the Peninsula of Malacca, it being, with them, a second leading object, by commanding this strait (for the Straits of Sunda were at this time little known) to exclude the other European nations from the China Seas, or commerce with that empire, or the islands connected with it:—they had also taken possession of the principal Moluccas and Bandas; and though they had traded to Sumatra and to Java, these islands were the first that offered themselves to the Dutch and to the English, as the most practicable markets to which they could resort, or on which they could establish factories, or seats of trade.

The Company's limits, also, extended from the Peninsula of Malacca round the coasts of Siam, Cambodia, Cochin-China, and the islands in the Chinese Seas, comprehending what has been subsequently denominated the Philippines, and the Japanese Islands.

1601. Their transactions, from 1601 to 1617-18 consisted chiefly in voyages of experiment.

Having given an analysis of the letter and spirit of the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, and also of the limits within which the London East-India Company were to open a direct trade with India, we are prepared to enter on the series of events which marked their proceedings.

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CHAP. I. 1601.

It is, however, proper to explain, that in the early period of the trade, the commercial orders of the London Company consisted only of general instructions, which the Court of Committees gave to the respective commanders of their ships, and supercargoes, or factors, embarked on them, or sent to the stations at which they might find trade to be practicable :—these circumstances render it necessary to give to the Annals of the London East-India Company, from its establishment, in 1600, to the formation of the First Joint Stock, in 1617, the form of a narrative of voyages of experiment, with the effects which those experiments had, both in England and at the first seats of the Company's trade :—After, however, the commerce of the Company was extended, by the formation of the First Joint Stock, and the seats of their foreign trade were established, the narrative of the Company's transactions admit of a more regular form, or that of Annals of its domestic and foreign affairs.

The proceedings of the first Adventurers assimilated with those of the Company.

The Annals of the London East-India Company, of the first of these descriptions, open with connecting the measures, already taken by the Society of Adventurers, with those adopted by the Courts of Committees and Adventurers under the Charter. The equipments, for the first voyage, had been prepared, and commanders and factors had been appointed, at the time the charter was negotiating ; but, even at this period, resolutions of the Committees were required, to enforce the payment of the instalments of the Adventurers, to defray the charges of the equipment, and to purchase the first cargoes ;—subsequently, a still stronger resolution had been taken, or that of

of rendering the Adventurers, who might not have paid in their respective shares to the general fund, liable for any losses which the concern might experience, from any diminution of the funds, upon which the first voyage had been projected.

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Subordinate Association of the stockholders formed, for the first experiments in the trade.

It was, however, found, as soon as the Charter had been obtained, that neither of those resolutions had produced the effect intended by them, and, what must appear still more extraordinary, that the Directors, acting under the Charter, either had not power to compel the subscribers to pay in their proportions, or that they deemed it imprudent to exercise this power; recourse, therefore, was had to the expedient of forming a subordinate Association of the stock-holders, who were willing to pay the sums required for the equipment and cargoes of the first voyage, and, therefore, were exclusively to be entitled to the profits of the adventure, or to be liable to the losses with which it might be attended; but this subordinate Association was to act as the London East-India Company, and to be responsible to its Governor and Court of Committees. This event explains, fully, the time which was required, for voyages of experiment, before the Company could be brought to act, either on a limited Joint Stock, and the still greater time which was required, before the trade could be established, on the general Joint Stock of the whole of the Adventurers, or joint proprietors.

This difficulty was what naturally might have been expected, from the conflict between the spirit of enterprize and mercantile caution. While the project was in contemplation, the list of subscribers was readily filled up, under the impression of

 large

CHAP. I. 1601.

large profits; but when this project came to be acted on, many of the subscribers (for they had had a year for reflection) became timid for the consequences, and were disposed to await the result of the first experiment, before they embarked their private fortunes in the speculation.

Equipments and stock for the First Voyage under the Charter.

The original subscription of the first society of Adventurers, we have found, amounted to £30,133. 6*s*. 8*d*.; but, notwithstanding the reluctance of individual Adventurers, which has been referred to, the funds provided for the first voyage, under the Charter, amounted to £68,373, of which £39,771 was applied to equip four vessels, the Dragon, the Hector, the Ascension, and the Susan, being the same ships which had been purchased, and to which commanders had been appointed by the Society of Adventurers: the tonnage and crews of these vessels have been stated in their transactions, and this fleet became the first regular ships of the London East-India Company. The cargoes provided for this fleet were estimated at £28,742 in bullion, and £6,860 in goods, supposed to be calculated for the Indian markets, consisting partly of British staples, cloth, lead, tin, &c. partly of British manufactures, cutlery, glass, &c., and partly of foreign merchandize, quicksilver, Muscovy hides, &c. The command of this first fleet was confirmed to Captain James Lancaster, who sailed in 1601, and proceeded direct to Acheen, in the Island of Sumatra.(1)

The

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked D. P., No. 7. 20.—— Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 199.

CHAP. I. 1601.

Queen's circular letter of recommendation of the captains and factors, to the princes and states in the countries within the Company's limits.

The commanders of this fleet received, from the Queen, general letters of introduction to the chiefs, or kings, of the ports to which they might resort. As these letters were general, and the foundation of all the recommendations, which were afterwards given by the crown, to the persons delegated by the London East-India Company to manage their concerns, in the countries within their limits, and as they are a model of that wisdom with which Queen Elizabeth directed all the interests of her subjects, the terms in which they were expressed, are interesting, in this part of the detail.

" *Elizabethe, by the Grace of God, Queene of England,*
" *Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faithe, &c.—To*
" *the greate and mightie Kinge of———, o^r lovinge Brother,*
" *greetinge:*

" Whereas Almightie God, in his infinite wisdome and " providence, haith so disposed of his blessings, and of all the " good things of this world, which are created and ordeined " for the use of man, that howesoever they be brought " forthe, and do either originallie growe, and are gathered, or " otherwise composed and made, some in one countrie, and some " in another, yet they are, by the industrie of man, directed by " the hand of God, dispersed and sent out into all the p̃tes of the " world, that thereby his wonderfull bountie in his creatures " may appeare unto all nac̃ons, his Divine Ma^te havinge so or- " deyned, that no one place should enjoy (as the native commo- " dities thereof) all things appteyninge to man's use, but that

 " one

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" one countrie should have nede of another, and out of the
" aboundance of the fruits which some region enjoyeth, that the
" necessities or wants of another should be supplied, by which
" meanes, men of severall and farr remote countries have com-
" merce and traffique, one with another, and by their enter-
" change of commodities are linked togeather in amytie and
" friendshipp:

" This consideracon, most noble Kinge, togeather with the
" honorable report of yor Maie, for the well enterteyninge of
" straungers which visitt yor countrie in love and peace (wth lawful
" traffique of merchaundizinge) have moved us to geave licence
" to divers of or subjects, who have bene stirred upp wth a desire
" (by a long and daungerous navigacon) to finde out and visitt
" yor territories and dominions, beinge famous in theise ptes of
" the world, and to offer you commerce and traffique, in buy-
" inge and enterchaunginge of commodities wth our people, ac-
" cordinge to the course of merchaunts; of wch commerce and
" interchanging, yf yor Matie shall accept, and shall receive and
" entertayne or merchaunts wth favour, accordinge to that hope
" wch hath encouraged them to attempt so long and daungerous
" a voiadge, you shall finde them a people, in their dealinge
" and conversacon, of that justice and civilitie, that you shall not
" mislike of their repaire to yor dominions, and uppon further
" conference and inquisicon had wth them, both of theire kindes
" of merchaundize broughte in their shippes, and of other
" necessarie commodities wch or dominions may afforthe, it may
" appeare to yor Maie that, by their meanes, you may be furnish-
" ed,

" ed, in their next retourne into yo^r portes, in better sort then
" you have bene heretofore supplied, ether by the Spanyard or
" Portugale, who, of all other nacons in the ptes of Europe,
" have onlie hetherto frequented yo^r countries w^th trade of mer-
" chaundize, and have bene the onlie impediments, both to our
" subjects, and diverse other merchaunts in the ptes of Europe,
" that they have not hitherto visited yo^r countrie w^th trade,
" whilest the said Portugales pretended themselves to be the sove-
" raigne lordes and princes of all yo^r territories, and gave it
" out that they held yo^r nacon and people as subjects to them,
" and, in their stiles and titles, do write themselves kinges of the
" East-Indies:

" And yf yo^r Ma^ie shall, in yo^r princelie favour, accept, w^th
" good likinge, this first repaire of our m^rchaunts unto yo^r coun-
" trie, resortinge thether in peaceable traffique, and shall en-
" tertaine this their first voiage, as an introduccon to a further
" continewaunce of friendshipp betweene your Ma^te and us, for
" commerce and intercourse between yo^r subjects and ours, wee
" have geaven order to this, our principall m^rchaunt (yf yo^r Ma^te
" shall be pleased therw^th) to leave in yo^r countrie some such of
" our said merchaunts as he shall make choice of, to reside in yo^r
" dom inons, under yo^r princelie and safe proteccon, untill the
" retourne of another fleete, w^ch wee shall send unto you, who
" may, in the meane tyme, learne the language of yo^r countrie,
" and applie their behavio^r, as it may best sorte, to converse w^th
" your Ma^ies subjects, to the end that amitie and friendshipp be-
" inge entertayned and begun, the same may the better be
" continewed,

CHAP. I. 1601.

"continewed, when our people shal be instructed, how to direct "them selves accordinge to the fashions of yo^r^ countrie.

"And becawse, in the consideracõn of the enterteyninge "of amytie and freindshipp, and in the establishinge of an "entercourse to be continewed betweene us, ther may be "required, on yo^r^ Ma^ies^ behaulfe, such promise or capitulacõns "to be p̃formed by us, w^ch^ wee cannot, in theise our lr̃es, take "knowledge of, wee therefore pray your Ma^ie^ to geave eare "therein unto this bearer, and to geave him creditt, in whatso-"ever he shall promise or undertake in our name, concerninge "our amitye and entercourse, w^ch^ promise, wee (for our p̃te), "in the word of a Prince, will see p̃formed, and wilbe readie "gratefullie to requite anie love, kindnes, or favour, that our "said subjects shall receive at your Ma^ies^ handes; prayinge yo^r^ "Ma^ie^, that, for o^r^ better satisfaccõn of yo^r^ kinde acceptaunce "of this our love and amytie offered yo^r^ Highenes, you would, "by this bearer, give testymonie thereof, by yo^r^ princelie lr̃es, "directed unto us, in w^ch^ wee shall receive very great contente-"ment. And thus," &c. (1)

Caution of the Company, in waiting for the result of the First Voyage, blamed by the Queen.

It would appear, that the Court of Committees, or Directors, were disposed to await the return of their first fleet, before they took any effectual measures for a second voyage. This caution, on their part, attracted the notice of the Queen and Privy Council, who interpreted it into a neglect of the conditions under which she had granted her protection, and Charter of Incorporation

(1)—Circular Letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Kings of Sumatra and other places in the East-Indies. (East India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 5).

Incorporation to the London East-India Company: the Privy Council, therefore, addressed a letter, in October 1601, to the Company, signifying the Queen's surprize, that they were not preparing for a second voyage, both because she expected the equipments would be annual, and because such caution, or neglect, was contrary to the practice observed by the Dutch, who annually formed their equipments, and pushed on their trade, by increased funds and commercial exertions. (1)

CHAP. I. 1601.

1602. Captain Lancaster forms the first treaty made by the Company, at Acheen.

Captain Lancaster, on his arrival, delivered the Queen's letters to the chief, or king, of Acheen, accompanied with presents, agreeably to the usages of the East, and formed a treaty of commerce with this chief, in which the privileges of trade, import and export, were granted to the English merchants, free of all payment of customs or duties:—he also obtained permission to settle a factory, and that the factor and his servants, in their own private concerns, might conform to the laws of England, but, in their transactions with natives, to the usages and laws of the country, and to have the right to dispose of their private property, by will, in the event of death. (2)

In this first treaty, between the English and a native chief or king, in the countries within the Company's limits, it does not appear, that any positive price was paid for the privileges which were acquired; but it may be inferred, as a necessary consequence,

(1)—Letter from the Lords of Council to the Merchants trading to the East-Indies, October 1601. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, vol. i, No. 4).

(2)—Copy of Treaty with the " Mighty King of Dachein and Sumatra," (in the Indian Register Office, volume marked F. 1, unbound, page 1.)

CHAP. I. 1602. quence, that the presents which were given, and which so effectually reconciled the king of Acheen to grant those privileges, were a part of the funds of the Adventurers, and entitled the East-India Company to resort to Sumatra. This is the first aspect of that *Dead Stock* to which they obtained a real right, consistently with their Charter, and with those exclusive privileges, with which they were vested for a limited time.

—and at Bantam. Not having procured a full lading of pepper at Acheen, Captain Lancaster sailed, by the Straits of Malacca, for Bantam, in the Island of Java, where it appears, he had similar success, in acquiring privileges of trade from its chief, or king, and settled a factory, or house of trade, and received from the King a letter to Queen Elizabeth, with suitable presents, expressive of his satisfaction, in opening a commercial intercourse, between England and his dominions, and his resolution to consider the Spaniards as enemies to both nations.(1) Captain Lancaster having completed his cargo at Bantam, returned to England in September 1603.(2)

1603. Second voyage. This experiment so fully convinced the Adventurers of the practicability of establishing the trade, that the same ships were repaired for the second voyage, the direction of which was given to Captain Middleton, who was to proceed, in the first instance, to the factories which had already been established, but with permission to open a trade with the Spice Islands. The sum subscribed for the

(1)—Letter from the King of Bantam to Queen Elizabeth, 1602. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 6).

(2)—Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 199.

CHAP. I. 1603.

the second voyage was £60,450; and it is remarkable, that, of this sum, so large a proportion as £48,140 was expended for the repairs of the ships, and for stores and provisions, and that only £11,160 in bullion, and £1,142 in goods, made up the cargo; (1) which sum, with the subscription for the First Voyage, was carried into one entire account, amounting to £128,823.

This fleet proceeded first to Bantam, at which a factory had been settled, by Captain Lancaster, where Captain Middleton laded two ships with pepper, and sent the other two to Amboyna, for finer spices, at the time when the Dutch were endeavouring to exclude the Portuguese, and establish themselves, as monopolists, at that island. Captain Middleton returned to England in 1606, with the loss of one of his ships; but, in this voyage, there remains no evidence to shew, that he had obtained any new right of factory, to the Company. (2)

The profits upon these two first voyages are stated to have amounted to £95 per cent, upon the capital originally subscribed, clear of all charges. (3)

1604. King James's licence to Sir Edward Michelborne, the first violation of the Company's Charter.

The success of these two first East-India voyages induced private merchants, who were not partners in the Company's stock, to endeavour to obtain a participation in the trade. King James I, in 1604, granted a licence to Sir Edward Michelborne and others, to trade to "Cathaia, China, Japan, Corea, and "Cambaya,

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked D. P., No. 7. 20.

(2)—Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 223.

(3)—Sir Jeremy Sambrooke's Report on the East-India Trade. (MSS. in Indian Register Office, volume marked D. P. 1—1.)

CHAP. I. 1604. " Cambaya, &c. ;" and, it is worth notice, that this is the same person, whom the Lord Treasurer had recommended to the first Association of Adventurers, which they refused, under the impression, that employing any but men of their own quality, or merchants, would offend the proprietors, and might induce them to withdraw their subscriptions. This licence was a direct violation of the exclusive privileges granted by Queen Elizabeth to the London East-India Company, which vested in them the sole right of giving licences to individuals to trade within their limits; a circumstance which is memorable, rather from its being the first appearance of ***Interlopers***, or ***Private Traders***, endeavouring to counteract the commerce of the Company, than from the success attending their undertaking. (1)

1606. Third Voyage. The loss of one ship in the second voyage, did not discourage, either the former adventurers, or the other members of the Company; for a new subscription, amounting to £53,500, was entered into, and three ships fitted out, in 1606, under the command of Captain Keeling, The expence of the repairs and equipment of this fleet amounted to £28,620, and the cargo was estimated at £17,600 in bullion, and £7,280 in goods. This fleet directed its course to Bantam, to receive pepper, and though it does not appear from any regular document what the quantity was, or whether any new rights were granted, there is evidence, that one of the ships (the Consent) had gone to Amboyna, where she purchased an assortment of cloves :—it is remarkable, also,

(1)—Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 223.—— Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvi, page 582.

CHAP. I. 1606.

also, that the original cost of the cloves was £2,948. 15s., and that they sold, on her return to England, in December1608, for £36,287 :—the profits, on the whole of this voyage, amounted to two hundred and thirty-four per cent. on the original subscription. (1)

1607. Fourth Voyage.

In 1607, a subscription of £33,000 was entered into, and two ships equipped, for the *Fourth* Voyage, the expence of which amounted to £14,600, and the cargo was estimated at £15,000 in bullion, and £3,400 in goods. This voyage was unfortunate, equally in the East, and in Europe, for one of the vessels was wrecked on the coast of India, on the outward-bound voyage, and the other, on the coast of France, on her return. (2)

1608. Fifth Voyage.

What was termed the *Fifth* Voyage, was, in fact, a branch of the *Third*, as the same Adventurers were the owners, who subscribed the sum of £13,700, and sent out a single ship, in the year 1608, the equipment of which cost £6,000, and the cargo was estimated at £6,000 in bullion, and £1,700 in goods; but the profits of this voyage are included in those applicable to the *Third*, as already mentioned, or two hundred and thirty-four per cent. (3)

Company's factors recommend a trade at Surat, Cambaya, and Priaman.

Hitherto, the projects for voyages, and the returns which the sales yielded to the proprietors, constituted the only subjects which the annals of the London Company afforded. In the year

X 2 1608,

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked D. P. No. 7-20. (Sir Jeremy Sambrooke's Report on East-India Trade, D. P. 1—1).

(2)—Ibid.

(3)—Ibid.

CHAP. I. 1608.

1608, however, the Court of Committees received intelligence from their factors at Bantam, and in the Moluccas, that the cloths and callicoes, imported from Cambaya, were in great request, and that, if the factories should be furnished with them, they could be profitably exchanged for pepper and the finer spices ;—the factors, therefore, recommended that a trade should be attempted at *Surat* and at *Cambaya*, and that two ships should be employed to purchase goods at those ports, to be sent, for sale, to Bantam and the Moluccas, which would have the effect, from the profits of exchange, to increase the general profits of the annual voyages; and, farther, that it might be advantageous to extend the pepper trade, by establishing a factory at *Priaman*, in the island of Sumatra. (1)

1609. Company petition King James for confirmation of their Charter, and enlargement of their privileges.

It is probable, that the inconveniences which the Company had experienced, from the interference of private traders, or interlopers, obtaining licences from the crown, contrary to the exclusive right which had been conferred by their first Charter from Queen Elizabeth, induced them to make application to King James, in 1609, for a renewal of their privileges, with such explanations of their chartered rights, as they deemed it expedient to have, to preclude all future pretexts for questioning their authority, or infringing their privileges of trade.

Charter of King James to the London

After reciting the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, the King, by Letters Patent, dated the 31st May 1609, confirmed the right to

(1)—Letter from the Factors at Bantam to the Court of Committees of the East-India Company, 4th December 1608. (Letters from the Company's foreign Settlements, in the Indian Register Office, vol. i, No. 17).

to the Company, to be a body, politic and corporate, for ever, with perpetual succession, and to make bye-laws; and this right was defined to be, to possess lands, and to alienate the same:—but, instead of limiting their exclusive privileges to fifteen years, "the whole, entire, and only trade and traffic to the East-Indies," was granted to the Company, "for ever," and, by a prohibitory clause, all persons were enjoined, not to trade within the Company's limits, except by licences obtained from them, under their common seal;—and, to prevent any apprehensions which the Company might entertain, of licences granted to interlopers, or private traders, being obtained from the crown, it is expressly stated, that the same should not be given without the consent of the Company;—explaining, that notwithstanding these privileges, if the trade should not be found profitable to the realm, that such exclusive privileges were to cease and determine, after three years' warning.(1)

CHAP. I. 1609. Company, May 31st 1609.

From

(1)—Letters Patent, May 31st, 7th James I.—— Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 246.

Oath of a Freeman of the East-India Company, under the Charter of King James, (1609).

"You shall sweare to be good and true to our Soveraigne Lord the King's Majestie, "and to his heires and successors; you shall bee obedient, assistant, faithfull, and true, to "the Governor, his Deputie, and Company of Marchants of London trading into the East-"Indyes: all statutes and ordinances which are, or shall be made, by the said Governor, his "Deputie, and Fellowship (standing in force), you shall truely holde and keepe, having no "singuler regard to yourselfe, in hurt or prejudice of the said Fellowship: the secrets and "privities of the said Company, which shall be given you in charge by the Governor or his "Deputie to conceale, you shall heale and not bewray: all these thinges you shall holde and

"keepe

CHAP. I.
1609.
Rights conferred by this Charter.

From the spirit and terms of this Charter, it is obvious, that the King had become satisfied, that the continuance of the trade of the Company had been in danger, both by the irregular licences, which he himself had granted, and by the rapid accession of factories, and increase of trade, which the Dutch had acquired in India, from not having been exposed to similar domestic infringements on their rights, and, therefore, endeavoured to profit from experience, and from imitation of a foreign example; for, to secure the Company, more fully, against the first of those evils, he renounced the privilege of granting licences, without consent of the Company, and thereby rendered their exclusive privileges, as important as their chartered rights: but, as if doubtful of the rights he was conferring, he introduced, after the cautious policy of his predecessor, a reservation of withdrawing the exclusive privilege, on three years' notice, if the trade should not prove profitable to the realm.

The grant of Queen Elizabeth of the excl[illegible]sive trade was, thus, experimental only, while that of the Ki[illegible]g was perpetual, [illegible] with

" keepe, to the utmost of your power; or else being justly cond[illegible]ned for making default " in any of the premises, you shall truely, from time to time, co[illegible]ent and pay to the treasurer of the Company, for the time being, all and every such su[illegible]mes and penalties, which " are, or shall bee limitted and set for the transgressors of the [illegible]me: you shall not write " for, nor colour any adventures in your name, for any men [illegible]hatsoever (not being free " brethren of this Company), but directly for your owne particu[illegible] stocke, use, and accompt: " also, if you shall know any manner of person, or persons, w[illegible]ch intend any hurt, harme, " or prejudice to our said Soveraigne Lord the King's Majestie[illegible] or to his landes, or to the " foresaid Fellowship, or priviledges of the same, you shall gi[illegible] knowledge thereof, or cause " it to be made knowne to the said Governor, or his Deputie[illegible] So helpe you God." (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 47.)

with a reservation, as inconsistent with itself as impolitic; or the right of annulling this perpetuity; marking, thus, in this early stage of the Company's annals, the difference between that decided policy which characterized a wise government, and that profusion of privileges, and yet indecision, which betrayed an imperfect knowledge of events, or of the consequences they might produce.

Sixth Voyage.

The effect of this explanation and confirmation of the Charter of Queen Elizabeth to the Company, was, that it removed the apprehensions of interferences by private unlicensed traders, and gave the prospect of permanent privileges of trade, both from the precise terms in which they were granted, and from the mode pointed out for the exercise of them;—hence, what has been termed the *Sixth* Voyage of the Company, proceeded on the enlarged subscription of £82,000, and consisted of three ships, under the command of Sir Henry Middleton, the equipment of which amounted to £32,200, and the investment was estimated at £28,500 in money, and £21,300 in goods.

This fleet sailed in the season 1609. The ships were of a larger size, and, of course, better fitted for distant navigation:—one of them (the Trade's Increase) being eleven hundred tons.

The instructions sent by this fleet to the factors in India, furnish the first instance of a regular list of goods, descriptive of the articles, to the purchase of which they were to direct their attention, *viz.* raw-silk, fine book calicoes, indigo, cloves, and mace; and, it is probable, from the restriction under which the Company placed their factors, that, in the preceding voyages, the profits of individuals, from the illegal sale of those articles, had

CHAP. I. 1609. had alarmed the Court, as they prohibited them from private trade, in this their Sixth voyage, except to the amount which they had subscribed to the general stock.(1)

The profits from this voyage are ascertained to have been £121. 13*s.* 4*d.* per cent.(2)

1610. Seventh Voyage, on a limited Joint Stock. The *Seventh* Voyage, in the season 1610, consisted of a fleet of four ships, in which several classes of the Adventurers had united, from their being described as *Joint Adventurers*:—the captains of the several ships had each their separate orders, and no chief command was assigned to any one of them. The subscription for this voyage amounted to £71,581, the equipment of the shipping cost £42,500; the investment was estimated at £19,200 in money, and £10,081 in goods; and the profits on this voyage amounted to £218 per cent. on the sum originally subscribed.(3)

1611. Eighth Voyage. In 1611, what has been termed the Company's *Eighth* Voyage was undertaken: and as several of the classes of Adventurers, who had been concerned, separately, in the former speculations, were contributors to this Eighth Voyage, this also was termed the first Joint Stock, that is, a stock, not made up of the general funds of the Company, but of the subscriptions of Adventurers, who, either as individuals or small societies, had embarked property in the former equipments; an explanation of which measure is necessary, to distinguish this first effort to combine the credit

(1)—Letter from the Court to the Factors in India, 15th March 1609-10.

(2)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, D. P. 7.-20. Sir Jeremy Sambrooke's Report on East-India Trade.—— Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 241.

(3)—Ibid.

CHAP. I. 1611.

credit of a large proportion of the original members of the Company, to support a commercial speculation, but not to convey an idea, that the whole funds of the original subscribers were engaged, or had become bound for this enterprize.

The subscription for equipping the fleet, thus formed, consisting of four vessels (the Dragon, Captain Best; the James, Captain Marlowe; the Solomon, Captain Salmon; and the Hoseander, Captain Pettie) amounted to £76,375, of which the large sum of £48,700 was expended in building and fitting out the fleet, leaving only, for the investment, £17,675 in money, and £10,000 in goods:—the profits on this voyage are stated to have amounted to £211 per cent. (1)

Captain Downton's report on the Company's trade in the East-Indies.

The Court were now beginning to receive communications from their factories in India; and though those communications were not yet sufficiently regular to enable us to state, separately, the domestic and foreign transactions of the Company, it will be sufficient, for the purpose of exhibiting their proceedings, to mark the effect which the intelligence they received had upon their subsequent enterprizes.

Captain Downton (who had gone out with Sir Henry Middleton) represented, this season, that unsuccessful efforts had been made to open a trade at Aden, and at Mocha, but that the Turks had opposed this project, had surprized one of the ships, and made the commander and seventy men prisoners. Disappointed in this scheme, the ships next attempted to open a trade on the West Coast of India; but every effort was obstruct-

 ed

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, D. P. 7.-20. Sir Jeremy Sambrooke's Report on East-India Trade.—— Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 241.

CHAP. I. 1611. ed by the Portuguese, who prevented the natives from trading with the English :—persevering, however, in the great object of opening new seats of trade, the fleet directed its views to the establishment of a factory at Dabul, but here, also, they were opposed by the Portuguese, whose officers induced the King (Mogul), then resident at Agra, to refuse an answer to the letter of King James, which had been forwarded, or to grant the English a Phirmaund for trade. These officers, being prevented from opening trade at the ports in the Red Sea, or on the West of India, determined to proceed to Priaman, in the Island of Sumatra, to fill up the ships with pepper ;—but recommended to the Court, to empower their commanders to make reprisals on the Moor's ships, going from Surat to the Red Sea, to indemnify the Company, for the losses they had sustained, in the preceding commercial speculations, estimated at £30,000. (1)

1612. Ninth Voyage. What has been termed the Company's *ninth* Voyage, consisted of a single ship only, the Expedition, Captain Newport, which sailed in 1612. The subscription amounted to £7,200, of which £5,300 was expended in purchasing and equipping the vessel, and the cargo was estimated at £1,250 in money, and £650 in goods. The profits on this voyage are stated to have amounted to £160 per cent. (2)

The

(1)—Captain Downton's representation to the Court, of the state of the Indian Trade, dated Dabul, 2d February 1611-12. (Vol. i, No. 37.)

(2)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, D. P. 7.-20. Sir Jeremy Sambrooke's Report on East-India Trade.—— Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 241.

1612.

First Establishment of trade at Surat, under licence from the Governor, and two Phirmaunds from the Great Mogul (Jehanguire).

The account of the equipments of the Company has hitherto comprehended only, the expences in England, and the general result of the voyages, in yielding a profit to the Adventurers; but it will be proper, in this place, to follow the efforts which Captain Best, who was commodore of the Eighth Voyage, and Mr. Kerridge, one of the principal supercargoes, made in India, to open new sources of trade.

Mr. Kerridge, in the Hoseander, in September 1612, was the first servant of the Company who opened a trade with Surat, where he was well received by the merchants and inhabitants, though opposed by the Portuguese. Having obtained permission to land some broad-cloths, lead, iron, and quicksilver, he procured, in exchange for them, such Surat cloths and goods, as had been recommended, in the preceding instructions, to be suited for the purchase of pepper and spices at Acheen. Captain Best, with the remainder of the ships, touched at Swally; and if, prior to this period, intrigues with the natives, to oppose the English participating in the trade, marked the conduct of the Portuguese, they now employed force, and attacked the Company's ships at Swally, on the 29th November 1612, with a large fleet, but were repulsed. In December following, the King's Phirmaund arrived, allowing the English to settle a factory at Surat, at which Captain Best left ten persons, with a stock of £4,000, to purchase goods, or provide an investment for him, to be taken on board on his return from Acheen:—this transaction ascertains the date of the first settlement of an English factory at Surat.

The

CHAP. I. 1612. The factors stationed at Surat gave it as their opinion to the Court, that this port was the best situation in India, to vend English goods, particularly broad-cloths, kersies, quicksilver, lead, and vermilion, to be exchanged for indigo, calicoes, cotton-yarn, and drugs; and added a list of such goods, as might annually be disposed of at Surat, *viz*, about four thousand pieces of broad-cloths, sword blades, knives, and looking-glasses; and that toys and English bull-dogs should be sent, as presents; but explained, that this trade could only be protected, by stationing five or six ships in the river of Surat, to defend the factory and trade against the Portuguese. (1)

The agreement with the governor of Surat, for allowing the English liberty of trade at that port, contained, in substance, the following stipulations:—that no measure should be adopted against the English, in consequence of a former dispute between Sir Henry Middleton and the government of the place;—that the English should have liberty to settle factories, at the cities of Amadevar (Ahmedabad), Surat, Cambaya, and Goga, and that all their merchandize should be subject to a duty of three and a half per cent. only;—that, in the event of the death of the English factors, an inventory should be taken of the Company's property, which should be safely kept till the arrival of the next fleet; and that the Mogul's Phirmaund, confirming this treaty, should be procured within forty days. By subsequent information it appears, that this confirmation did not arrive till the 11th January following,

(1)—Letter from the Factors at Surat to the Court, dated Surat, 25th January 1612-13, vol. i, No. 84.

following, when the Mogul's letter was delivered, with much ceremony, to Captain Best, at Swally. (1) CHAP. I. 1612.

This factory appears to have been strengthened by a second Phirmaund from the Mogul, in March 1612-13; the agent, therefore, considering the trade as established, recommended the fixing a factory at *Dabul*, to keep the Portuguese in check; and suggested, as the Cape of Good Hope, at this time, had no European establishment at it, that it would be expedient to form a factory at this place, to supply the outward and homeward-bound shipping with provisions and water. (2)

1613. First Joint Stock, in 1612-13, for four successive voyages.

The inconveniences which had been experienced, from separate classes of Adventurers, partners in the East-India Company, fitting out equipments on their own particular portions of stock, induced the Directors, or Committees, to resolve, in 1612, that, in future, the trade should be carried on by a *Joint Stock* only; and, on the basis of this resolution, the sum of £429,000 was subscribed; and though portions of this stock were applied to the equipment of four voyages, the general instructions to the commanders were given in the name, and by the authority, of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Committees of the Company of Merchants of London trading to the East-Indies, who explained, that the whole was a joint concern, and that the commanders were to be responsible to the Company for their conduct, both in the sale and purchase of commodities in the East-Indies, and for their general conduct, in extending the commerce, within the limits of the

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, volume marked A, bound, page 109.

(2)—Letter from the Factors at Surat to the Court, 12th March, 1612-13, vol. i, No. 86.

CHAP. I. 1613.

the Company:—the transition, therefore, from trading on separate adventures, which has been described as an imitation of the Dutch, to trading on a joint stock, arose out of the good sense of the English nation, which, from experience, had discovered the evil consequences of internal opposition, and had determined to proceed on a system, better calculated to promote the general interest of the East-India Company.

Notwithstanding this resolution, the proportions of this aggregate sum were applied, to what has been termed, the *Tenth*, *Eleventh*, *Twelfth*, and *Thirteenth* Voyages, in the following manner.

Proportions of the stock applied to the Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth voyages.

In the year 1613, the *Tenth* Voyage, of the Company was undertaken; the stock for which was estimated at £18,810 in money, and £12,446 in goods, and the fleet consisted of eight vessels.

In the year 1614, the stock for the *Eleventh* Voyage was estimated at £13,942 in money, and £23,000 in goods, and the fleet consisted of eight vessels.

In the year 1615, the stock for the *Twelfth* Voyage was estimated at £26,660 in money, and £26,065 in goods, and the fleet consisted of six vessels.

In the year 1616, the stock for the *Thirteenth* Voyage was estimated at £52,087 in money, and £16,506 in goods, and the fleet consisted of seven vessels.

The purchase, repair, and equipment of vessels, during these four years, or voyages, amounted to £272,544, which, with the specified stock and cargoes, accounts for the disbursement of £429,000, the sum subscribed, on the *First Joint Stock*, in the year 1613.

The

The profits on this Joint Stock are stated to have amounted, on the first two voyages, to £120 per cent. on the original subscription: but they were, subsequently, much diminished, by the difficulties which the English trade to the East-Indies began to experience, from the opposition of the Dutch in the Spice Islands; so that, at the conclusion of this first Joint Stock, in the year 1617, the average profits of the four voyages did not amount to more than £87. 10*s*. per cent. on the original subscription, notwithstanding the cargo of one of the vessels (the New Year's Gift) cost only 40,000 rials of eight, and the sale produce, in England, amounted to £80,000 sterling.(1)

Factories confirmed or established in the East-Indies, during these four voyages.

While these four voyages were preparing, and actually in the course of performing, several events occurred in the East-Indies, affecting equally the Company's commercial proceedings and the exercise of their exclusive privileges. Though the knowledge of these events will not furnish a connected view of a system of Indian trade, we discover in them, the foundations of the rights, acquired at the few factories which had already been established, and the measures adopted for fixing new stations.

In the year 1613-14, the object of the agents in India appear to have been, the forming a series of exchanges between the West Coast of India, and the station, or factory, at Bantam. A factory, also, had already been established at Surat, and an opinion transmitted to the Court, that not only sales of English goods

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, D. P. No. 7-20. No. 129. Sir Jeremy Sambrooke's Report on East-India Trade, D. P. No. 1. 1.—— East-India Company's Commission for the Second Voyage on the Joint Stock, 12th February 1613-14, marked No. 1.

CHAP. I. 1613. goods could be effected at this port, but that they might be pushed on to the inland markets, and the adjoining sea-ports. Mr. Aldworth, one of the Company's factors at Surat, stated, that, in his journey to Ahmedabad, he had passed through the cities of Boroatch (Broach), and Bothra (Brodera), and had discovered, that cotton-yarn, and baftees, could be purchased cheaper from the manufacturers in that country, than at Surat;—that at Ahmedabad, he could buy indigo at a low rate, but that, to establish such a trade, a stock, of from £12,000 to £15,000, should be constantly in the hands of the factor, and that it would be expedient to fix a resident at the King's court at Agra, to solicit the protection of the Mogul and of his ministers.[1]

This report, on the practicability of trade at Surat, and at the adjoining stations, was recommended to the consideration of the Court, from its importance to the purchases and sales at Bantam, the factors at which had particularly desired a supply of Broach fine calicoes; and though their trade was proceeding, they had not yet been able to obtain the King's licence for a piece of ground, on which to build a factory, notwithstanding the offer they had made of 1500 rupees, as purchase money:—at Bantam, also, the project was in contemplation to bring goods from China, into their assortments.[2]

Trade opened with Japan.

Captain Saris, who commanded a ship in the Seventh voyage, endeavoured, in the year 1610, to open a trade, in imitation

(1)—Letter from Mr. Aldworth to the Court, dated Ahmedabad, 13th November 1613, vol. i, No. 103.

(2)—Letters from the Factors at Bantam to the Court, 31st January 1613-14, vol. i. No. 93.—— Letter from the Factors at Bantam to the Factors at Surat, 12th July 1613. No. 97.

imitation of the Dutch, with the empire of Japan:—for this purpose he had gone to Firando, and, by presents, obtained from the King permission to trade, without payment of customs, and to establish a house, or factory, at that port; and a licence to proceed on a voyage of discovery to Yeadzo (Jesso), or to any other part of the Japanese empire. The factory at Firando was, in consequence, established; and in June 1613, Mr. Peacocke, one of the Company's factors, arrived at Firando, and proceeded to the Emperor's court to solicit protection; but he reported, that the prospect of sales of English goods was uncertain, and recommended rather the plan of opening a trade with Siam.(1)

CHAP. I. 1613.

1614.

The experiments for extending the trade in the West of India, in the year 1614-15, and of opening a trade with Persia, are particularly interesting; while those resorted to, for opening a trade with the Spice Islands, in the same year, discover the sources of that opposition, and of those animosities, which, in the sequel, led to unhappy extremes of commercial jealousy and violence, between the English and Dutch Companies.

Application to the Mogul, for permission to fortify the factory at Surat.

The first experiment was to extend the trade at Surat and the countries connected with it:—on the subject, the factors reported, that the Portuguese, having taken a Surat ship of great value, the Mogul had issued orders to his principal officers to proceed to Surat, and demand restitution, which if refused,

(1)—MSS. in Indian Register Office, marked A, bound, page 7. Letter from Mr. Peacocke to the Court, dated Firando, 2d December 1613, No. 104.

CHAP. I. 1614. war was to be declared against the Portuguese nation. This event suggested to Mr. Kerridge, the Company's factor at Agimere, the expediency of applying to the Emperor for a Phirmaund, authorizing the English to fortify their factory at Surat, against any violence which the Portuguese might, in their opposition to the English nation, be disposed to offer. The Emperor (Jehanguire) referred this application to Mucrob Khan, the minister, by whose influence the original Phirmaunds, for trade at Surat, had been obtained. In this stage of negotiation, Mr. Kerridge requested the Court to furnish him with suitable presents for this minister, from whom it was also his intention, to solicit a Phirmaund for trade at Ahmedabad, because the licence for trading at that city had been procured from an inferior officer.

As the season advanced, the war between the Mogul's subjects and the Portuguese became more general, the Portuguese fleet having burnt and plundered the towns of Broach and Goga; their recent defeat, by the English ships, off Surat, had raised the English reputation so high in the opinion of the Mogul's subjects, that protection to their factors and trade was readily granted. Under such favourable circumstances, Mr. Edwardes, the Company's factor at Ahmedabad, projected his mission to the Mogul's court, but desired that he might be vested with the character of the King's messenger, or servant, because, in this capacity, Jehanguire and his nobles would more readily listen to his solicitations, than if he appeared in the character of a merchant only. To balance the charges of this mission, Mr. Kerridge suggested, that four hundred pieces of

of broad-cloths, of light colours, would sell at court, at great profit, also a proportion of kersies, looking-glasses, and sword-blades; but that these goods, for sale, must be accompanied with a proportion of toys, for presents.

The English ships at Swally attacked by the Portuguese fleet.

In January 1614-15, the Viceroy of Portugal arrived with a large fleet off Swally, where he attacked the English ships, but was defeated, with the loss of three hundred and fifty men:—several partial actions followed, between this period and the 9th February 1614-15, when the Viceroy with his fleet sailed for Goa.

Company's trade at Surat in 1614-15.

In this state of affairs, the Factors represented the trade at Surat to be brisk, and that they had been protected in landing all their cargoes, and had dispatched Mr. Edwardes, as their agent, to Agra, with presents to the Emperor and his ministers, of cloths, pictures, glasses, and sword-blades. That the Court might have information of the goods suited to this trade, the Factors added, that quicksilver (should the market not be over-stocked) would sell to advantage, also good crooked sword-blades, light-coloured broad-cloths, elephants' teeth, lead, vermilion, corals, and pearls; but that tin (from its being nearly as good in the country as that brought from England) and Muscovy hides, would not sell.

Interview of Mr. Edwardes, the Company's agent, with the Great Mogul.

Mr. Edwardes, in this state of affairs, proceeded to Agra, and reported, that Mucrob Khan had procrastinated the settlement of the trade at Surat, by stipulating that the English should engage to defend Surat, and the Mogul ships, against the Portu-

CHAP. I. 1614. guese, with whom the Emperor was at war. Mr. Edwardes was presented, on the 7th February, by Asaph Khan, brother to the Empress, Noor-Mahal (so celebrated in Indian history, for her beauty and elevation) to the Great Mogul (Jehanguire), to whom he delivered King James's letter and picture, and those of the Royal Family, who expressed his satisfaction with the English nation, and his resentment against the Portuguese;—Mr. Edwardes next gave presents to Asaph Khan, Mahomet Khan, and to the favorite Sultana, and, obtained a Phirmaund, directed to the governor of Surat and Cambaya, allowing the English a trade in his dominions;—and in his report to the Court, submitted that pictures, landscapes, particularly such as represented the manners and customs of England, portraits of the nobility, and some fine beaver hats, might be forwarded next season, as presents, for the Mogul and his nobles.

Mr. Kerridge and Mr. Edwardes, at this time, obtained a general and perpetual Phirmaund, for the English trade in the Mogul's dominions. (1)

A second

(1)—Letters from Mr. Kerridge and Mr. Edwardes, at Agimere, and from the Factors at Surat and Ahmedabad, 20th September, 22d November, 20th December, 1614, 26th February and 20th March, 1614-15. No. 152, 167, 176, 179, 180, 138, 107.

The following description of the strength and courage of the English mastiff dog, is given in the postscript of Mr. Kerridge's letter of the 20th March, 1614-15.

" Mr. Edwardes presented the Kinge a mastife, and speakinge of the dog's courage,
" the Kinge cawsed a yonge leoparde to be brought to make tryall, w^ch^ the dogge soe pinchtt,
" thatt fewer howres after the leoparde dyed. Synce, the Kinge of Persia, w^th^ a presentt,
" sent heather haulfe a dozen dogges—the Kinge cawsed boares to be brought to fight w^th^
" them, puttinge 2 or 3 dogges to a boare, yet none of them seased; and rememberinge his
" owne

A second experiment made this season by the factors at Surat, was to open a trade with Persia. This project had been suggested by Mr. Richard Stell, or Steel, who had gone to Aleppo, to recover a debt from a merchant of that city:—the debtor had fled to India, and Mr. Stell followed him through the Persian dominions, and arrived at Surat. On the report which he made to the factors, of the great probability of advantages to be derived from a trade to Persia, they agreed to send him, and Mr. Crouther, one of the Company's servants, into Persia, to examine the practicability of the speculation, and what harbours were fit for shipping, allowing them £150 to defray their charges, and giving them letters of credit on Sir Robert Shirley, who had settled at Ispahan, and also letters to the King of Persia, and to the governors of the provinces through which they were to pass. Mr. Steel, having described Jasques, situated about ninety miles from Ormus, as a convenient port at which trade might be commenced, was directed to proceed through Persia, by Aleppo, to England, and was strongly recommended, for his ability and knowledge, to the Court of Directors. (1)

First aspect of the trade to Persia.

The third experiment made this season (1614-15), was to open a trade between Bantam and the Spice Islands. With this

Attempt a trade between Bantam and the Spice Islands.

" owne dogg, sentt for him, who presently fastened on the boare, so disgraced the Persian " doggs, wherew[th] the Kinge was exceedingly pleased. 2 or 3 fierce mastiffes, a couple of " Irishe greyhowndes, and a couple of well taught waterspanyells, wold give him greate con- " tente."

(1)—Letters from the Factors at Surat and Ahmedabad to the Court, 28th November 1614, 2d January and 26th February 1614-15, No. 169, 122, 107, 180,

CHAP. I. 1614. this object, instructions were given by the factors at Bantam to send one of the super-cargoes to Lugho, and to endeavour to purchase cloves, at Hitto, information having been received, that the Amboynese were well affected to the English, notwithstanding their fear of the Dutch; and farther, if possible, to fix a factory at Lugho, three leagues from Amboyna. The super-cargo was next to direct his course to the Island of Banda; and, should he find the natives disposed to open a trade with the English, he was to leave two factors and their servants at this island, to purchase the finer spices.(1)

Sir Thomas Roe appointed Ambassador to the Great Mogul, in 1614-15.

The information which the Court had received, in the preceding season, induced them to apply to the King, to grant his royal authority, that an Ambassador should proceed, in his name, to the Great Mogul.

King James, in compliance with the wishes of the Company, on the 14th January 1614-15, granted his commission to the celebrated Sir Thomas Roe, "to be Ambassador to the Great "Mogul, or King of India," the Company agreeing to defray the expences, in consideration, that under their exclusive privileges, they were to acquire such benefits as might result from this mission.

1615. Progress of his negotiations.

Sir Thomas Roe sailed from England in March 1614-15, on board the Lion, Captain Newport, and arrived at Surat, from whence he proceeded to the Mogul's court, at Agimere, which he reached in December 1615, and on the 10th January 1615-16, was

(1)—Instructions given by the Factors at Bantam, for attempting a voyage to Amboyna and Banda, 24th January 1614-15, No. 114.

was presented to the Mogul, as Ambassador from the King of England, when he delivered the King's letter and the presents:— of these, an English coach was the chief article, and with it the Mogul was pleased to express his satisfaction, and to give the Ambassador a gracious reception. From the Company's agents having already been too profuse in their presents to the ministers and favorites, Sir Thomas Roe found, that the articles which he had carried out, as presents, were not so highly estimated as he had expected; he therefore informed the Court, that nothing less than valuable jewels would be deemed worthy of acceptance: —at the same time he advised, that "four or five handsome "cases of red wine" should be sent, as presents to the King and Prince, as, in his words, "never were men more enamoured of that "drinke as these two," and which "they would more highly "esteem than all the jewels in Chepeside." In describing his own situation, he stated, that the natives could not comprehend what was meant, in Europe, by the rank or quality of an ambassador, and that, in future, it would be preferable to employ an agent only, who could, without dishonor, bear those affronts, which an ambassador, from his rank, could not encounter:— that, from want of an interpreter, he had experienced much difficulty, in explaining to the Mogul, and to his ministers, the objects of his mission; in particular, the grievances which the English had suffered from the Governor of Ahmedabad, because the native brokers, whom he was obliged to employ, were afraid to interpret literally, lest they should incur either the King's displeasure, or be disgraced by his ministers. In his application for redress,

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redress, from the Governor of Ahmedabad, he discovered, that this officer was supported by Sultan Churrum, the Mogul's eldest son, and Asaph Khan, the favorite; by perseverance and firmness, however, the Ambassador at last obtained the relief he solicited.

On the 24th January 1615-16, Sir Thomas Roe had a second audience of the Mogul, at which he complained of the injuries the English had sustained, from the arbitrary conduct of the Governor of Surat; and so effectual were his remonstrances, that this officer was dismissed. The Ambassador then proposed to renew the articles of the Phirmaund, or treaty, between the Mogul and the English nation, and solicited to have the treaty ratified by the signatures of the Mogul and of Sultan Churrum; which having procured, the treaty was concluded.

Substance of his treaty with the Great Mogul.

The following is the substance of this treaty:—after the usual preamble, that there should be perpetual league and friendship, between the Great Mogul and the King of England, it was stipulated, that the English subjects should have liberty of trade, and be allowed to settle factories in any ports of the Mogul empire, specifying Bengal, Scindy, and Surat;—that they should be furnished with all kinds of provisions and carriages by the inhabitants of the sea-ports, according to the ordinary rates of charge;—that the merchants should be protected against any exactions or customs, in all sales, not exceeding sixteen rials of eight;—that all presents sent to the Mogul should be protected from being opened at the sea-ports, and be forwarded to the English Ambassador at court, to be delivered, agreeably to his instructions;—that the goods of the English merchants should be

be rated, within six days after being landed at any port, and after payment of the stipulated duty, might be forwarded, free, to any other English factory;—that the goods purchased by the English, in any part of the Mogul's dominions, should have a free transit to the ports at which they were to be shipped;—that the property of the Company's servants, who might die in the Mogul's dominions, should be delivered to the Company's officers, or their successors;—that the provisions necessary for the shipping should be exempted from duty;—that, in the case of dispute, a particular Phirmaund should be given, for explaining and confirming the English privileges; and that copies of such Phirmaund should be forwarded to the respective Mogul officers.

By a separate article, it was agreed, that the rate of customs, on English imports, should be fixed at three and a half per cent. and two per cent. on rials of eight;—that mutual assistance should be given against the enemies of either of the contracting parties;—and, finally, that the Portuguese, at the desire of the King of England, should be included in this treaty, and six months allowed to the Viceroy of Goa, to notify his accession; but, in the event of his refusal, the Portuguese were to be treated as enemies. (1)

The farther progress of Sir Thomas Roe's negotiation with the Mogul, will appear in the transactions of the subsequent season; his dispatches of this year, concluded with recommending to the Company, as a commercial speculation, to

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked A, bound, page 113.—— Sir Thomas Roe's Journal, Printed Collection of Voyages, vol. i.

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send out a large assortment of all kind of toys, annually, which would find a ready sale at the great festival of Noroose, in the month of March. (1)

Progress of the trade on the Malabar Coast.

Though there are no direct communications from Surat, this season, the progress of the Company's commercial speculations on the Malabar Coast, appears to have been considerable.

As the commodities obtained on the Malabar side of the Peninsula, constituted a valuable part of the cargoes brought from India, Captain Keelinge, who commanded one of the vessels which sailed in 1614-15, had his principal intercourse with the Zamorin's country.

On his arrival at Cranganore (March 1615-16), he obtained liberty of trade, and permission to settle a factory; and it was agreed by treaty, dated the 10th March 1615-16, that the English and the Zamorin should join their forces, and expel the Portuguese from Cochin, which, when conquered, should be ceded to the English, they paying one half of the expences of the expedition, and the Zamorin the other. (2)

— at Bantam.

The measures adopted at Bantam, for extending the Company's pepper trade, and the trade to the Spice Islands, if they did not prove successful, at least opened, in this season, new markets to view; but the commercial animosities which were daily becoming greater, between the Dutch and English Companies, prevented the establishment of trade at them.

Mr.

(1)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvi, page 775.—— Sir Thomas Roe's Journal, printed. —— Original Letter from Sir Thomas Roe to the Court, dated Agimere, 25th January 1615-16, No. 187.

(2)—Treaty concluded with the Zamorin by Captain Keelinge, 10th March 1615-16. —— MSS. in India Register Office, marked A, bound, page 133.

Mr. Boyle and Mr. Cockayne, who had been sent, in the preceding season, from Bantam to Amboyna, reported, that notwithstanding the invitation given by the natives of Amboyna and Banda to the English, to open a trade with them, they had, after repeated efforts, been obliged to abandon the enterprize. Mr. Cockayne had gone to Maccassar, and fixed a factory at that place, although it produced scarcely any other article but rice, on the presumption that, from its situation, it might be made a central port, at which the spice trade might be established:—in this place, also, the Dutch endeavoured to excite the natives against the English; Mr. Cockayne, therefore, sailed from Maccassar again to Banda, but was forced back, by the shifting of the monsoon, and then thought of the expedient of fixing a factory at Poloway, which hitherto had not been visited by the Dutch. In the course of the season, he sailed to Neroe, in the Island of Banda, but found it impracticable, from the opposition of the Dutch, to fix a factory. Driven, in this manner, from station to station, he again proceeded to Amboyna, and, through the friendship of the natives, got possession of Cambello Castle, in June 1615. In this place he was attacked by a Dutch superior force, and though he made an obstinate defence, was again compelled to return to Maccassar.

CHAP. I. 1615. — at Amboyna.

It, therefore, only remained to the factors at Bantam, to make efforts to extend the Company's trade in pepper. An experiment had previously been tried to open this trade, at Jambee; but as this port had been overstocked with Coromandel Coast goods

CHAP. I. 1615. goods (the articles which the natives most readily received in exchange for their pepper), this expedient failed. (1)

Captain Best, who had carried letters from King James to the King of Acheen, formed, in 1615, a treaty with this chief, by which, privileges of trade and liberty to settle a factory at Tekoo, in Sumatra, were granted, on payment of seven per cent. on the imports and exports;—in return for which, the Company's servants were to have protection for their persons and property, on promises being made of larger presents. (2)

— at Japan. The experiment which had been tried to open a trade with Japan had not been productive; for the pepper, lead, and quicksilver, brought from Bantam, did not sell to advantage; and Mr. Coppindal, the factor, who had been left at Firando, recommended to the Court, that if a settlement could be obtained in the Spice Islands, it would be preferable to try a trade between them and China, or Siam, though the factory at Firando might be kept open, as a depôt for stores and provisions. (3)

In

(1)—Letters from the Factors at Bantam to the Court, 20th December 1615; from Mr. Cockayne, at Maccassar, 16th July 1615; and from the Factors at Jambee, 11th February 1615-16. No. 226, 199, and 190.

(2)—Copy of Treaty with the King of Acheen. (MSS. in the India Register Office, marked F. I, unbound, page 35.)—— Letter from the King of Acheen to King James I. (1615) vol. ii, No. 231.

Note.—Though, at this distant period, the nature of the presents requested may appear whimsical, this demand, and the compliance with it, furnishes a striking proof of the value which all nations put on whatever has novelty, and that novelty will obtain favour in a remote country, however trifling the articles may be. The King of Acheen, by this treaty, requested that "ten mastiff dogs, and ten bitches, and a greate piece of cannon, "that a man might set upright in, might be sent out to him."

(3)—Letter from Mr. Coppindal, at Firando, to the Court, 5th December 1615. No. 223.

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Opposite views of Sir Thomas Roe, and the Company's factors at Surat, of the expediency of the trade to Persia.

In the preceding seasons, while the four projected voyages were actually performing, we have endeavoured to collect the projects of the Company's foreign factories, for extending their trade in the East-Indies, and in the season 1616-17, we must continue the same method, as the only practicable means, by which, we can connect their domestic measures with the foreign results of them, while the East-India Company were making experiments of trade, only.

In the former year, although the information from Surat was deficient, yet the trade of the Company had been introduced lower down the Malabar Coast, partly by the directions of this factory, but chiefly by the exertions of Captain Keelinge, in his treaty with the Zamorin; and we were then able to trace the rise and first progress of Sir Thomas Roe's mission, as Ambassador to the Great Mogul.

Report, by the factors at Surat, of the state of the trade in 1615-16.

In the season we are now reviewing, however, we discover a jealousy in the factory of Surat, of Sir Thomas Roe, notwithstanding his efforts and success in obtaining phirmaunds, from the Mogul, favourable to the factories at Surat and Ahmedabad, and, in general, encouraging to the English trade in the Mogul dominions, for the factors represented to the Court, that a merchant, or agent, would be better qualified for a commercial negotiator, than a King's Ambassador, and, in support of this opinion, referred to the practice of the King of Spain, who, on no occasion, would send an ambassador, but always a commercial agent; and stated that Sir Thomas Roe, besides, considered himself to be vested with the exercise of a controlling power

over

CHAP. I. 1616. over the commercial speculations of the Surat factory, and held himself to be better qualified to judge of the English interests, by combining the political relations which he wished to introduce, between the Mogul and the King of England, than by forwarding any projects for trade, which the factory might devise, as applicable to the Mogul dominions.

In explanation of these opinions, we shall advert, in the first instance, to the measures which the Surat factory adopted, and recommended to the Court of Directors, for their encouragement; and next, to the views which Sir Thomas Roe took of the proceedings of the Surat factory, and of the Indian trade, of which it had the chief direction; and, lastly, to the opposite opinions which the factors and the Ambassador entertained of the practicability, or the advantages of the Persian trade, on which, from the incidents, detailed in the preceding season, these agents had speculated, and had begun to act.

The factors at Surat stated, that the Mogul dominions, from the probable death of the Emperor Jehanguire, were, at this period, in the most relaxed state of administration, the three sons of the Emperor being employed in drawing together their adherents, and preparing for a civil war:—that the transit of goods through the provinces, to Surat, from this circumstance, was exposed to depredations, in the countries in which each of the princes had their respective influence; and that this precarious situation of trade was daily becoming more hazardous, as the event of the Emperor's death was held to be probable, or approaching:—at the port of Surat, however,

however, broad-cloth, lead, and tin, would sell well, provided the market was not overstocked, but quicksilver and cutlery were falling in price; and, therefore, that considerable assortments of goods should be sent from England to Surat, which would enable the agents to meet the demands at Brampore and Ahmedabad, and save the expences of continuing factories at these stations; but that, hitherto, they had not found it practicable to open a trade in the countries bordering on the Ganges, the Portuguese being in the exclusive possession of the commerce of that part of the Peninsula:—concluding this general report, with observing, that private trade must be checked, because individuals in the fleets, undersold the Company, and that no further licences should be granted by the Court, to *voluntaries* (private traders), because, when any misfortune happened to them, that is, when their projects, or their credit, failed, they either became a burden on the Company, or embraced the Mahomedan faith, "to keep them from starving." (1)

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Progress of the trade with Persia.

The factory at Surat stated to the Court, that the attempt which had been made to open an intercourse with Persia, had succeeded beyond their expectations, and that they had written to the factors, at Bantam, for a proper supply of pepper and spices, and such goods as the farther Indies afforded, because, from the information they had received, these articles would facilitate exchanges, or the purchase of Persian produce.

On

(1)—Letters from the Agents at Surat and Agimere to the Court, 31st December 1616, 26th February, 4th March, 1616-17. No 289. 256.

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On consultation, they reported, that in consequence of letters from the agent in Persia (notwithstanding Sir Thomas Roe's opinion being against the project), they were satisfied, that several kinds of English goods, which had not been found vendible at Surat, particularly broad-cloths, were in demand in consequence of the existing war between the Persians and Turks, in return for which Persian silks, which had hitherto been sent, through Turkey, to Europe, might be procured, and a foundation laid for a Persian trade;—they, therefore, resolved to send a small ship from Surat to Jasques, with an investment, consisting of broad-cloth, kersies, lead, tin, iron, quicksilver, vermilion, cutlery, glass, and sword-blades, with £2,000 in money. This resolution they illustrated, by reference to letters from Mr. Barker and Mr. Connock, who had proceeded from Jasques to Mogustan, the residence of the governor of the province of Ormus, by whom they had been favorably received, and who granted them a licence to land their goods at Jasques;—after leaving two factors at Mogustan, they next intended to continue their journey to Ispahan, the capital, and requested a supply of English cloths, which would sell well, and enable them to purchase silks, and other Persian produce:—that it would also be expedient to send four hundred tons of pepper and spices, from Bantam, with a supply of Surat and Guzerat cloths, and a proportion of ginger, sugar, rice, opium, and wax, and presents to be offered to the King of Persia; and concluded by stating, that the Persian trade was the more promising, from the decline of the Portuguese power, and the opinion of this

people

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people that the English would probably make an attack on Ormus. Mr. Pley, in a subsequent letter, explained, that English cloths would find a ready sale in Persia, because the upper garments of the chiefs and soldiers were made of this staple, brought through Turkey. (1)

Sequel of Sir Thomas Roe's negotiations.

We have next to advert to the progress of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy, and to his opinion of the measures and projects of the factory at Surat, for extending the Company's trade.

At the close of the preceding season, the Ambassador had his second audience of the Mogul, and had concluded a treaty, for the introduction of the English trade, into the Mogul dominions. In this year, he reported, that he had returned his thanks to Sultan Churrum, for the protection which he had afforded to the English, in relieving them from the extortions of Zulfeccar Khan, the late Governor of Surat, and had remonstrated against the partiality which had been shewn to the Portuguese, by representing to the Mogul that the King of Portugal had, in Europe, assumed the title of King of India, and that the Portuguese trade could never be so beneficial as that of England, from the fact, that the English annually exported from India, calicoes and indigo, to the amount of 50,000 rials;—to strengthen this remonstrance, Sir Thomas Roe offered to pay to the Sultan 12,000 rupees per annum, on condition that the English should be exempted from payment of customs at the port of Surat; and then gave it as his opinion, that the plan

(1)—Consultation of the Agents at Surat, 2d and 6th October 1616. No. 276.—— Letter from the Factors at Jasques to the Court, 19th January 1616-17. Nos. 238, 268.

CHAP. I. 1616. plan of the agency at Surat, of keeping up permanent factories at Ahmedabad, and other parts of the Mogul dominions, ought to be abandoned, as it would be preferable to make the purchases of goods inland, by the natives (particularly the indigo brought from Agra, and the Bengal goods), who could obtain them at reasonable rates; but if the Court were of opinion, that English factors should be stationed at Agra, he recommended the sending the goods on carts, rather than on camels;—and concluded this part of his report, by advising that agents should reside at Cambaya and Baroach, because, at those towns, the best cloths in India could be procured.

The Ambassador's opinion of the Persian trade, it has already been noticed, was directly opposite to that of the Agent and Council of Surat: in particular, he held, that the expedient of sending a ship to Persia, was an ill-advised project, and, to take off the bad effect of it, he had written to Shah Abbas, that the ship had come to Jasques by accident;—that, however, the speculation of a Persian trade was so far worthy of consideration, that he had addressed a letter to the King, offering to enter into a direct contract for Persian silks; but that the plan of keeping up a fleet, for the defence of the Persians against the Portuguese, at Ormus, was extravagant, as it would exhaust the whole profits which could arise from the trade, and because, on the restoration of peace between Turkey and Persia, the silk trade would naturally revert to its ancient channel, by Aleppo;—independently, however, of this circumstance, the heavy expences which would be incurred, by bringing the silk, by land carriage, to

to a port in the Persian Gulf, thence to be conveyed to Surat, would render the price, at which the silks could be sold in England, higher than that at which they would sell, if brought from Aleppo;—and, on the whole, that the project of a Persian trade should, for the present, be abandoned, as the Spanish-Portuguese would oppose it, by every obstacle in their power. (1)

CHAP. I. 1616.

State of the trade at Bantam in 1616-17, and cession of the Island of Polaroon, by the natives, to the English.

The measures adopted at Bantam, this season, furnished only a continuation of those detailed in the preceding year. It had then been found, that the experiment of forming a settlement at any of the Banda or Molucca Islands, was difficult, if not impracticable; the avowed plan of the Dutch being to monopolize the Spice Trade;—that, therefore, this branch of trade could only be attempted, by fixing stations and factors in those islands, to which the Dutch had not hitherto resorted; and with this view, a commission had been given, by the Agent and Council at Bantam, to the commanders of the ships, Swan and Defence, directing them to proceed to the Islands of Poloway and Polaroon, with instructions to observe the utmost caution in treating with the natives, and to endeavour to obtain from them an absolute surrender of those islands to the King of England, by their stipulating to pay, annually, as a quit-rent, a branch of the nutmeg-tree, bearing fruit; and that they should be allowed to remain subject, entirely, to their own laws and customs, provided they would agree to sell their spices to the English only. In the

 event

(1)—Letters from Sir Thomas Roe to the Court, 27th November and 1st December 1616. Nos. 281, 282.—— Letter from Sir Thomas Roe to Sultan Churrum, 1st May 1616. No. 265.

CHAP. I. 1616. event of such a treaty being formed, the English commanders were to endeavour to obtain ground at Polaroon, on which they were to build a house, to land their ordnance, and to fortify it as a station, and then, to intimate to the Dutch in the neighbourhood, that the island had been taken possession of, in the name of the King of England. Under similar instructions, they were next to endeavour to establish houses and factories in the Islands of Poloway, Pulo-Lantore, and Rosengin.[1]

1617. Review of the trade and settlements of the East-India Company in the East-Indies, in 1617.

The following interesting survey of the English establishments in the East-Indies was transmitted to the Court of Committees, in the year 1617, or at the conclusion of the Joint Stock of 1613.

— at Surat.

Surat was the most commodious station in all India, at which, though English goods were not in great request, all the eastern parts of India could be supplied with cloths; but those articles could only be procured by exchanges of China goods, spices, and money.

— at Acheen and Tekoo.

At the two factories of *Acheen* and *Tekoo*, on the Island of Sumatra, large quantities of Cambaya and Masulipatam goods might be disposed of, and, in return, gold, camphor, pepper, and benjamin, could be obtained.

—at Bantam.

Bantam was the greatest place of trade in the Indian Seas, where Cambaya and Masulipatam goods, estimated at fifty or sixty thousand rials, were annually imported, and, in return, in good

(1)—Letters from the Agent and Council at Bantam to the Court, 29th October 1616 No. 278.

good years, one hundred and fifty thousand sacks, and in bad years, sixty thousand sacks of pepper could be exported:— the price of pepper, however, had been raised treble, in the last few years, from the competitions in the market, between the English, Dutch, and Chinese.

— at Jaccatra. *Jaccatra* yielded arrack, rice, and fish, for shipping; but a settlement at that place would be difficult, from the exorbitant sum demanded by the King, for ground on which to build a factory.

— at Jambee. *Jambee* had been recently settled as a factory, at which there was an increasing demand for Cambaya and Coromandel cloths, and, in return, it would afford about ten thousand sacks of pepper.

— at Potania. At *Potania*, about ten thousand rials of Surat and Coromandel cloths might be sold; but it furnished few articles of export, and trade was on the decline.

— at Siam. At *Siam*, if the country were in a state of peace, Coromandel cloth might be sold to the amount of forty or fifty thousand rials per annum; in return, it would yield gold, silver, and deer skins, for the Japan market.

— at Japan. At *Japan*, English cloth, lead, deer skins, silks, and other goods, would find a considerable market, and, in return, it would furnish silver, copper, and iron; but the English cargoes hitherto sent to this place had been ill assorted, and the trade was on the decline.

— at Succadania. At *Succadania*, diamonds, bezoar stones, and gold, might be obtained, had not this trade been ruined by the ignorance of the first factors.

At

CHAP. I. 1616.

— at Banjarmassin. At *Banjarmassin*, in the Island of Borneo, diamonds, gold, and bezoar stones, could be procured; but the character of the natives was so treacherous, that it would be expedient to withdraw the factory.

—at Maccassar. As *Maccassar*, the best rice in India could be bought, and about forty thousand rials per annum of Cambaya and Coromandel cloths sold; but this place was resorted to by the Portuguese, though abandoned by the Dutch.

— at Banda. At *Banda*, about forty or fifty thousand rials, annually, of Coromandel cloths could be sold; and, in return, about a thousand tons of nutmegs and mace could be purchased, and a still greater quantity, could peace be established between the Europeans trading to it.(1)

Though these accounts of the experiments which had been made to establish trade in the countries within the Company's limits do not specify the amount of the charges, either in the enterprizes, or in the settlement of factories, yet these charges must have been great, and must be considered as having exhausted a large proportion of the East-India Company's funds, under their obligation to the Crown to establish English trade in the East-Indies, under their Charter and exclusive privileges.

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Council at Bantam to the Court, 19th January 1617-18. No. 296.

1617-18.

CHAP. I.
1617-18.
The annals of the London East-India Company, in this year, first admit of a regular review of their domestic and foreign transactions.

THE Annals of the London East-India Company, from its establishment in 1600, by Queen Elizabeth, to 1617-18, could only assume the form of a narrative of the commercial measures which had been devised at home, and of experiments by voyages to the countries within their limits, with the general object of introducing the trade.

At the outset, though the subscriptions of the Adventurers were considerable, those subscriptions were not acted upon as one joint stock, on which a direct trade between England and the East-Indies could be attempted; for whether we refer to the commercial caution of the first subscribers, many of whom wished for information on the practicability of the scheme before they embarked their property in it, or from the opinion of many of the Adventurers, that it would be more safe to manage their own concern, than to entrust it to the Court of Committees, it is, at this distant period, difficult to ascertain; but the fact was, that lesser and subordinate associations of the Adventurers fitted out different independent equipments, though all of them acted in the name of the London East-India Company. Experience, however, discovered, that those detached equipments exposed the whole to dangerous results, in the East-Indies, in their attempts to establish trade :—it was, therefore, practicable only, in this first

CHAP. I. 1617-18. first aspect of Indian affairs, to give the form of a narrative of voyages of experiment.

Formation of the Second Joint Stock.

The inconveniences of detached voyages of experiment were felt in the year 1613, and called for the union of those subordinate associations, or what has been termed the First Joint Stock. On this larger fund, and with more defined commercial objects, the Court of Committees, or Directors, were enabled to call for the support of the Crown, to protect the establishments which they were forming, against the jealousies and opposition of the Portuguese and Dutch:—the Directors, with this support, fixed on Surat and Bantam, as the principal seats of their trade, and placed, as subordinate to the Presidents and Councils at those ports, such out-stations, as had hitherto been subjects of commercial experiment, only, that they might annually afford instructions to those Presidencies, for the management of the trade, and for continuing, or relinquishing, such stations as had been formed on the Peninsula of India, and in the countries bordering on the Gulfs of Persia and Arabia, on the one side, and on the Island of Java and the Spice Islands, and the countries which might be approached by the Chinese Seas, on the other.

Having, however, arrived at that period (1617-18), when a large joint stock was to be employed, and when the interferences of the Crown were required, to protect the East-India Company, as a body of its subjects, privileged to carry on a distant and extensive commerce, from being overset by the maritime European nations, with which, by treaties, England was

was in alliance, it becomes practicable to give the regular form of annals, to Indian Affairs, divided into the domestic and foreign transactions of the London East-India Company.

The report which had been made in the preceding year (1616-17), of the actual commercial state of the countries, to which the Company's shipping had hitherto resorted, and the large expenditure which had been made of the first Joint Stock, of 1613, induced the proprietors, or Adventurers, this year, to form a new, or what has been known by the name of the *Second Joint Stock*, which amounted to the large sum of £1,600,000. When this Joint Stock began to be acted on, the Company were possessed of thirty-six ships, of from one hundred to a thousand tons burden, and the proprietors of stock amounted to nine hundred and fifty-four persons. (1)

Appropriation of it.

The appropriation made of this large stock was as follows: the sum of £800,000 was set apart to defray the charges of three

(1)—Sir Jeremy Sambrooke's Report on East-India Trade. (MSS. in India Register Office, marked D. P. 1. 1.)—— List of Adventurers in the East-India Stock, 20th February 1617-18, and List of the Ships belonging to the Company, "at the coming in of the Second "Joint Stock, 1617." (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked D. P. 7,-20, and 129).

Note. In the year 1617-18, King James granted Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of Scotland, dated at Kinnaird, 24th May 1617, to Sir James Cunningham, of Glengarnock, appointing him, his heirs, and assigns, to be governors, rulers, and directors, of the Scottish East-India Company, and authorizing him "to trade to and from "the East-Indies, and the countries or parts of Asia, Africa, and America, beyond the "Cape of Bona Sperantia, to the Straits of Magellan, and to the Levant Sea, and "territories under the government of the Great Turk, and to and from the countries of "Greenland, and all other countries and islands in the North, North-west, and North-"east Seas, and other parts of America and Muscovy." Which Patent, and all the rights and

of its transactions in the preceding year; but an accident occurred in this season, which, though trivial in itself, became the foundation of a rivalship, and an animosity, not anticipated by the East-India Company. CHAP. I. 1617-18.

Hitherto, the factory had only to reconcile the Mogul officers to the introduction of trade, and to oppose the English sales and purchases to the long confirmed commerce of the Portuguese; but, in this year, a Dutch ship being wrecked near Surat (10th July 1617), and the goods saved from the wreck allowed to be disposed of in that city, this persevering people perceived the value and consequence of trade at this port; and having disposed of their goods to advantage, left ten merchants, as the managers of a projected trade, and with the funds which had arisen from the sale of the ship's cargo, and the expectation of receiving new stock and shipping from Europe, in the subsequent season, they determined to acquire a portion of the Surat trade. The English factory, thus, before it had been fully established, had not only to oppose itself to the Portuguese, but to the Dutch commerce. This event is memorable, from its ascertaining the origin of the Dutch trade at Surat, and introducing their enterprizing servants into a rivalship with the English:—it is not less so, from its furnishing evidence, that the Dutch commercial relations had already been formed on the Coromandel Coast; for, with the exception of the ten persons left at Surat, the remainder of the officers and crew proceeded, overland, to their factory at Masulipatam.[1]

 We

(1)—Letter from the Factory at Surat to the Court, 10th November 1617, No. 392.

CHAP. I.

1617-18.

Sequel of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy.

We left Sir Thomas Roe, after concluding his treaty with the Mogul, soliciting Sultan Churrum to accept of the annual payment of twelve thousand rupees by the English, in lieu of payment of customs at Surat, and have now to follow the progress of his embassy.

Though Sir Thomas Roe appears, from his communications to Mr. Kerridge, the chief at Surat, to have procured a Phirmaund, through the means of Noor-Mahal, the Empress, or favorite Sultana, for the general good treatment of the English at Surat, and had desired, that an assortment of English goods, perfumes, &c. should be forwarded to him, as presents for her, and for Asaph Khan, her brother, yet he described the Governor of Surat as reluctant to shew that favour to the English, which the Phirmaund had enjoined;—it, therefore, became a question with the Ambassador, as the Governor of Surat would not allow the English to strengthen or fortify their factory, for the protection of their goods and servants, whether it might not be expedient to remove to some station, where the means of self-defence might be more practicable. At one time, he thought of Goga, and, subsequently, of Scindy; but, after a review of the whole, decided that it would be more expedient to remain at Surat, though from the character of the natives, and the instability of the Mogul government, all grants of privileges must be considered as temporary, and that any agreement, or capitulation for goods, which might be procured, ought not to be depended on, as permanent; and concluded, that though the general Phirmaund for trade in the Mogul dominions had been obtained,

tained, and, of course, a foundation laid for the English intercourse with the rich provinces of Bengal, yet the attempt to enter on this trade would be unwise, from the Portuguese having the exclusive possession of it. (1)

He seconds the efforts of the Factors at Surat, for a Persian trade.

If Sir Thomas Roe, and the factory at Surat, in the preceding season, had entertained opposite opinions of the expediency of opening a trade with PERSIA, it would appear in this year (as the trade had been opened at the port of Jasques) that he felt it his duty to afford them his assistance, in maintaining and extending the advantages which the agents had already acquired. In their report to the Court of Directors, dated at Ispahan, they stated that the opposition which they had chiefly to expect, arose from the interferences of the Spanish-Portuguese, who were trying every expedient to engross the Persian trade, and to exclude the English from any participation in it.

Projects of Sir Robert Shirley in Persia, hostile to the Company.

In this opposition, Sir Robert Shirley had been implicated, who had left Ispahan, in October 1615, and gone to Europe, on a mission from the King of Persia, to form a contract with the King of Spain, not only to sell to his subjects the whole of the Persian silk, but to grant them licence to fortify the sea-ports, for the protection of their shipping and factories. Mr. Connock, the agent, therefore, recommended the necessity of an application to King James, by submitting to his consideration, the danger of allowing the Spanish-Portuguese to enjoy the exclusive

(1)—Letter from Sir Thomas Roe to Mr. Kerridge, 21st October 1617, No. 367.—Letter from Sir Thomas Roe to the Court, 14th February 1617-18, No. 306.

CHAP. I.
1617-18.

exclusive possession of a trade, which would render them the most powerful European nation in the East-Indies; and, in the mean time, represented to the King of Persia, the necessity of seizing the Island of Ormus from the Portuguese, under the protection of which the Persian dominions would be supplied by the English, with all kinds of Indian produce.

Arrival of a Spanish Ambassador at Ispahan.

In this critical situation of the Company's agents at Ispahan, an Ambassador arrived from the King of Spain (June 1617), authorized to adjust and settle the contract, which Sir Robert Shirley had projected;—the English agent, in consequence, urged the factory at Surat, to dispatch the whole of the Company's ships to Jasques, for the defence of that port, as the Portuguese fleet had rendezvoused at Muscat, and had determined to blockade the passage into the Gulf of Persia, against the English trade.

Sir Thomas Roe authorizes the Company's agent at Ispahan to treat in the name of the King of England.

These events induced Sir Thomas Roe to grant a commission and instructions to the Company's agent at Ispahan, authorizing him to treat with the King of Persia, in the name of the King of England.

The commercial advantages which would result from getting access to the Persian trade, Mr. Connock reported to the factory at Surat, would be, the immediate sale of all the English cloths and kersies, which might arrive in the fleet, should they amount even to two thousand bales, and the sale of about a hundred tons of tin, and some quicksilver, and vermilion; and that, from the money which these sales would produce, with two thousand rials in cash, he could purchase a valuable assortment of

of Persian goods, but added, that neither ivory, lead, nor sword-blades, would sell in Persia;—if this trade should be entered on with spirit, five hundred tons of pepper could be disposed of, and as much sugar, and the finer spices, as could be procured;—and concluded, by requesting, that an English coach should be sent as a present to the King of Persia, for which the agent expected an order, for buying silk, might be obtained. (1)

The Company's Factors at Bantam oppressed by the Dutch.

The efforts which had been made under the directions of the factory at BANTAM, in the preceding season, appear, in this year, to have succeeded; for the Islands of Polaroon and Rosengin had been taken possession of, and fortified:—the Dutch had attacked the former with three ships, but, on finding the defences strong, had retired, though, on the voyage, they had seized the Company's ship Swan, in her passage to Rosengin, and having corrupted the crew of the Defence, carried the ship to a Dutch settlement. Against these proceedings, the factory at Bantam protested, and demanded the ships, which were refused, unless the English would consent to surrender all their rights and claims on Polaroon, and the other Spice Islands.

The Dutch practised the same conduct against the first French ships, which appeared in the Indian Seas, as they had exercised towards the English. Two French ships had arrived at Bantam, from Dieppe, in 1616-17; but being commanded by Dutch officers, they were seized, and the supercargoes

(1)—Letters from Mr. Connock, agent at Ispahan, to the Court, 2d April and 2d June 1617, Nos. 332, 352.—— Letters from Mr. Connock to the Factory at Surat, 15th May and 8th June 1617, Nos. 341, 455.—— Commission and Instructions from Sir Thomas Roe to the Agent in Persia, 6th October 1617, Nos. 378, 380.

CHAP. I. 1617-18. cargoes obliged to sell one of the vessels, at Bantam :—the other, commanded also by Dutch officers, was intercepted, on her return through the Straits of Sunda, and sunk. Two other French ships, subsequently, arrived from St. Maloes, from which the Dutch officers were also seized ;—and the English factors, concluded, that there was little probability of either of those vessels returning to Europe. (1)

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Factors at Bantam to the Court, 19th January 1617-18, No. 296.

1618-19.

CHAP. I.
1618-19.
Different constitution of the Dutch and London East-India Companies.

When the knowledge of the events which had taken place in the Spice Islands reached Europe, the respective superiors of the English and Dutch Companies became parties in the discussions, each presenting memorials and remonstrances.

While the English traded as separate adventurers, the Dutch considered them, as seeking only a subordinate share of the East-India trade, but when a Joint Stock was enabling the London Company to send out large fleets, that they might acquire a participation in the trade, the jealousy of merchants, strengthened by the experience of gain, superseded, in a distant country, the ties of alliance in Europe :—hence, in Holland, it was expected, that any opposition which the Dutch Company might make to the projects of the English, in participating in the trade, would not, from the pacific character of King James, lead to any actual hostilities, but be subjects of remonstrance only ;—besides, the greater part of the Directors of the Dutch Company, in their different Chambers, were members of the States in the different Provinces, and several of them members of the States General; whereas, in England, the Directors of the London Com-

CHAP. I. 1618-19. pany were not vested with any political capacity, and could only approach the sovereign with petitions, praying for his interference and protection.

Memorial of the Dutch East-India Company to King James, complaining of the interferences of the London East-India Company with the natives at Bantam, and the Spice Islands.

In all cases of national aggression, the party committing the injury, is, generally, the first who complains :—the Dutch Company, accordingly, in 1618, presented a memorial to King James, the substance of which was :—that being in possession of a trade at Bantam, the English factory had endeavoured to instigate the Materam, or Emperor, against them, and had repeatedly assisted the natives, both of the Bandas, and Moluccas, particularly at Amboyna, in violating those treaties which they had concluded with the Dutch Company, for the exclusive trade and control of those islands, and, therefore, prayed for the King's interference with the Directors of the London Company, to prevent any farther encroachments on possessions, of which the cession had been made to them, by the natives, or of which they had made a conquest from the Spaniards.

Answer of the Company.

In reply, the London East-India Company enumerated the grievances and oppressions which their ships and factors had received from the Dutch commanders and fleets, during the last three years, in which they had only been endeavouring to retain their rights at Bantam, and to introduce their trade, in such islands, as had not hitherto been pre-occupied by the Dutch, and that they had made agreements with the natives, at ports in the Spice Islands, of this description, from which, by the superior force, military and naval, of that people, they had been driven, with great loss, both of men and of property; and, as instances,

ces, referred to the violence and opposition experienced from the Dutch, both at Bantam, and at Polaroon, Rosengin, Amboyna, and Tidore. (1) CHAP. I. 1618-19.

Proceedings at Surat.

The opposition, in opinion, between Sir Thomas Roe and the factory at SURAT, noticed in the preceding year, appears, on the return of the Ambassador to Surat, in the spring of 1618, to have subsided, as the efforts of both were united, to establish, by treaty, a distinct system for the Indian trade at Surat, and to improve on that hold, which the English agents were obtaining of the trade in Persia.

Treaty between Sultan Churrum and Sir Thomas Roe.

It has already been stated, that Sir Thomas Roe had procured from the Mogul a Phirmaund to the English, for a general trade in his dominions, but that the relaxed situation of the government, which, under the administration of the Moguls, always preceded an expected succession to the throne, had, at this juncture, rendered the Governor of Surat less obsequious to the orders of his sovereign, than the absolute nature of the constitution would otherwise have prescribed. Sir Thomas Roe, to improve on the general treaty, made proposals to Sultan

 Churrum

(1)—Memorial of the Dutch East-India Company to King James, and Reply of the London East-India Company thereto, in the year 1618. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, Nos. 12 and 13).

CHAP. I. 1618-19 Churrum to enter into an alliance, for resisting the pretensions of the Portuguese. After long discussions with this Prince, the treaty was concluded, and the following are its leading articles :—that the prince should take the English under his protection ;—that the Governor of Surat should lend ships to the English, to be employed in the defence of the port ; the English, however, to be allowed to land only ten armed men at one time, but the resident merchants might wear arms ;—that the English might build a house in the city, but distant from the castle ;—that the Governor of Surat should receive the Ambassador and his suite, with marks of honor ;—that the English should enjoy the free exercise of their own religion, and be governed by their own laws ;—that in any disputes between the English and the natives, reference was to be made to the Governor and his officers, who should decide, speedily and justly ; but disputes, among themselves, were to be decided by their own factory ;—that liberty of trade should be granted to the English, in its fullest extent, on payment of the usual duties on landing the goods, from which pearls, jewels, &c. were to be exempted ;—that freedom of speech should be granted to the English linguists and brokers, in all matters regarding the trade of their employers ;—and, lastly, that all presents, intended for court, should be opened and examined at the custom-house at Surat, and then sealed and delivered to the English, to pass, duty free ; but, if such presents were not made, the articles were to be liable to pay duty. The Phirmaund,

maund, ratifying and confirming this treaty, was signed, sealed, and delivered to Sir Thomas Roe. (1)

The Factors at Surat open a trade with Mocha, under licence from the Governor.

During this season, the factors at Surat directed their attention to the trade in the Red Sea, and opened an intercourse with Mocha, on the principle that the articles obtained at this port, which had been in high estimation, previously to the discovery of the circuitous navigation, and since that period, might become also part of the Company's investment.

Captain Shillinge, of the Company's ship Ann, went to Mocha in 1618, and obtained a Phirmaund from the Governor, by which the English were allowed freedom of trade, and protection to their persons and property, on condition of paying three per cent. on merchandize, and three per cent. on money paid for all goods, which they might export from Mocha.

On receiving information of these events, Sir Thomas Roe addressed a letter to the Governor of Mocha, requesting that these privileges might be confirmed by the Grand Seignior, and promising, on the part of the English, that Europe goods, of all kinds, should be regularly brought to Mocha, and that port be defended against all enemies, and, in particular, against the Portuguese. (2)

This

(1)—Sir Thomas Roe's Account of his Negotiations for settling a Trade and Factory at Surat, 1618. (MSS. in the Indian Register-Office, marked F. 1, unbound, p. 67).—Letter from Sir Thomas Roe to the Court, 15th August 1618. No. 484.

(2)—Copy of Agreement with the Governor of Mocha. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked F. 1, unbound, page 55).—— Letter from the agents at Mocha to the

CHAP. I.
1618-19.

Sir Thomas Roe returns to England; — his agreement with the Dutch Admiral, Hoffman, at Saldanha Bay, on his homeward voyage.

This appears to have been the last transaction of Sir Thomas Roe in the East-Indies; but, in his voyage home, he touched at Saldanha Bay, in May 1619, where he met and held a conference with the Dutch Admiral, Hoffman, who commanded the outward-bound fleet. From this officer he learned, that the respective governments in Europe, alarmed at the consequences of the commercial jealousies and animosities, between their subjects in the East-Indies, had appointed Commissioners to take the subject into consideration; and it was, with a becoming sense of duty, agreed between them, that each should address a letter to the chiefs of their respective factories in India, recommending to them to abstain from any opposition, or violence against each other, till each should receive specific instructions from their superiors, or be informed of the result of the conferences, between the Commissioners of the two nations, in Europe. (1)

Phirmaunds obtained for English trade in Persia.

At the close of the preceding season, Sir Thomas Roe had given authority to the Company's agent at Ispahan, to negotiate a treaty between the English and Persian courts, which Mr. Barker, who had succeeded to be agent, effected this season. As preliminaries to this treaty, three Phirmaunds, in favour of the English, were issued:—by the first, they were to be paid, in money, for their goods; by the second, the Sultan of Mynaw was

the Court, June 1618. Nos. 471, 477.—— Sir Thomas Roe's Letter to the Governor of Mocha, 16th February 1618-19. No. 427.

(1)—Letters addressed by Sir Thomas Roe, and the Dutch Admiral, Hoffman, to their respective Factories in India, dated Saldanha Bay, Cape of Good Hope, 11th May 1619. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 14).

was enjoined to deliver up the goods which he had detained from the English, with the strong expression, "that the worst "slave of the English should not be injured;"— by the third, a safe conduct was to be afforded to the English, in all their commercial proceedings in the Persian dominions. In return, Mr. Monnox, one of the principal factors, urged the propriety of sending, as presents to the King of Persia, a suit of armour for man and horse, some coats of mail, fire-arms, and several kinds of animals, particularly dogs and hawks, and a pair of globes.

Treaty between Persia and England, on the basis of these Phirmaunds.

These Phirmaunds were followed by a treaty, which stipulated, that perpetual friendship should subsist between England and Persia, and that ambassadors should reside at the respective courts;—that the governors at the different Persian ports should allow the English to land their goods, and should furnish the shipping with provisions, at the usual market prices;—that the English should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and be permitted to wear arms for their defence;—that the English Ambassador should be accommodated with a house at Ispahan, employ Persian servants, and be the judge of the English, according to their own laws, with power to appoint Consuls at the different Persian ports, and his Drogoman to have equal privileges with English subjects;—that the English should be permitted to bury their dead, the property of the deceased be delivered to the Ambassador, or Consul, and the orphans, whether by English women or Armenians, placed under the guardianship of the Ambassador

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sador or Consuls;—that, in all disputes between the English, Armenians, and Jews, the case should be decided by the Cadi, in presence of the Ambassador or Consul, but that no Englishman should be imprisoned for debt in Persia. It was farther stipulated, that the English should be authorised to attack the Portuguese, in all cases where they offered obstructions to their trade; and that, in the event of any future treaty of peace, between Persia and Turkey, no stipulations should be introduced, contrary to the spirit and terms of this treaty between Persia and England; and that the specified contract for silk, should be faithfully observed by both parties. It was finally explained that the English should have liberty of export and import trade of all kinds of goods, without payment of duties or customs;—that a fort should be built for them at Jasques, and that the Portuguese should be compelled to make restitution of whatever goods they had taken from them;—and the governors of the different towns were enjoined to furnish the English with camels and mules, for facilitating the transit of their goods. (1)

The Dutch continue to depress the English trade at Bantam, and its dependencies.

The opposition and animosity of the Dutch towards the English factory at BANTAM, and the means which their superior naval power, and military force, enabled them to employ, rendered it improbable that the English, with inferior means, could hold

(1)—Letter from Mr. Monnox, at Ispahan, to the Court, 18th April 1618. No. 473, A.
—— Copy of a Treaty between the King of England and the Sophi of Persia, 14th June 1618. No. 468.

hold out against rivals, whose avowed object was to extirpate them. At Bantam, the capture of the Company's ships, in the preceding year, had reduced the English factory to the most precarious situation; and yet they sent two of their ships to the relief of Polaroon and Lantore. These ships were taken by the Dutch; but the small garrison on Polaroon, consisting only of thirty-two men, held out against every attack, though its fall was deemed inevitable, unless it could be supplied with provisions:—Lantore had also held out, with the assistance of the natives, and it was hoped that this station might be preserved, till the arrival of reinforcements from England. At Banda, the English factors, after the capture of the ships sent to their relief, had been obliged to sell the spices which they had collected, to purchase provisions;—hence the project of extending the Company's trade to the Spice Islands was almost desperate. If reinforcements should arrive, the factors at Bantam entertained no doubt, that they would be able to establish stations at Cambello, and other ports on the Island of Amboyna.

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— and at Acheen.

The conduct of the Dutch was equally violent to expel the English from Acheen, at which, and at Bantam, they had offered double prices for pepper, that they might engross the whole trade in that article. (1)

Treaty between the King of Bantam and Sir Thomas Dale.

Sir Thomas Dale had sailed from England, as commodore, with six ships, in 1618, and had been vested by King James with

(1)—Letters from the Factory of Bantam to the Court, 7th September 1618, and 12th March 1618-19. (No. 495, 438.)

CHAP. I. 1618-19. with a special commission, to exercise civil, as well as martial law, and, in particular, to prevent private traders, or interlopers, from disturbing the Company's commerce. (1)

On his arrival at Bantam, he found the Dutch at Jaccatra, or Batavia, at war with the Javanese, and was called upon by the King of Bantam, of whom the Company held their factory, to give his assistance against the oppressions of the Dutch. This event led to a treaty between the factory of Bantam, on the one part, and the King of Bantam on the other, of which the substance is;—that the English, on payment of fifteen hundred rials of eight, should have ceded to them a square piece of ground, in right of property, upon which they might erect a factory, and should pay a farther sum of seven hundred rials, annually, for their privileges of trade;—that all kinds of merchandize bought by the English, the produce of the country, should be free of all customs or duties, except pepper, which should pay five per cent., and cloves, which should pay three per cent. duty, either in money or in goods;—that the King should not make any treaty of peace, war, or commerce, with the Dutch, or suffer them to erect fortifications, or to remain in any ports of his dominions, except by consent of the English;—that the forces to be employed against the Dutch, at Jaccatra, should, on surrender of the castle, share equally what might be taken, after replacing their military stores, respectively;—the castle to be at the disposal of the King of Jaccatra,

(1)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvii, page 56.

Jaccatra, and the personal security of the Dutch at the disposal of the English.

Jaccatra, or Batavia, taken by Sir Thomas Dale, and the King of Bantam.

In consequence of this treaty, Sir Thomas Dale, and the other English commanders, furnished the King of Jaccatra, or Bantam, with ten heavy guns and twenty barrels of powder; and the castle of Jaccatra was taken, on the 22d January 1618-19. The surrender of the place was made to the English and Javanese, on the following conditions;—the Dutch to be accommodated with a passage to the Coromandel Coast, without being exposed to the insults of the Javanese, on condition of their taking an oath, not to serve against the English, previously to the month of November next ensuing. (1)

— evacuated by the English.

It does not appear, that the English kept possession of Jaccatra; but, on the contrary, it is asserted, by all the Dutch authors, that the Dutch, the following year (1619), built and fortified Batavia, the capital of all their East-Indian possessions. (2)

(1)—Copy of Treaty concluded by Sir Thomas Dale with the King of Jaccatra, dated Jaccatra, 18th January 1618-19. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked A, bound, page 27).—— Letter from Jaccatra, dated 14th January 1618-19. (No. 412.)—— Articles of Capitulation of the Fort of Jaccatra, 22d January 1618-19. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, A, bound, page 39.)

(2)—Valentyn, Oud et Nieuw Oost-Indien.

1619-20.

CHAP. I.
1619-20.

Conferences between the English and Dutch Commissioners, on the disputes between the London and Dutch East-India Companies.

When the information of the events in India reached Europe, they became subjects of mutual complaint, by the English and Dutch Companies, to their respective governments; conferences, therefore, were, for a considerable time, held, between Commissioners appointed by the King and by the States General; the Dutch Commissioners stated, that, by the explanations given by the English and French Ambassadors, of the terms in the truce of Antwerp (1609), England had agreed to support the Dutch traders in the East-Indies, which could not be done, without erecting new forts and factories;—the English Commissioners, in reply, asserted, that such assistance was merely defensive, and that the erection of new forts, or proceeding to offensive operations in the Indies, would involve the King in disputes with Spain. (1)

Substance of the Treaty of 1619 between the King and the States General, for adjusting the differences between the Dutch and London East-

After repeated conferences, a treaty was concluded at London, on the 7th July 1619, between the King and the States General, which, after specifying an amnesty for all excesses, committed by either party, in the East-Indies, and a mutual restitution of ships and property, declared the trade of the two nations,

(1)—Original Report of the Commissioners appointed by King James to negotiate with the States General, concerning the differences between the English and Dutch East-India Companies, 1618. (State Paper Office.)

nations, in the East, to be free, to the extent of the respective funds, or capital, which might be employed; and specified, that the exertions of both Companies should be directed to reduce the duties and exactions of the native officers at the different ports;—that the pepper trade at Java should be equally divided;—that the English should have a free trade at Palliacat, or Pullicat, on paying half the expences of the garrison;—that the English, at the Moluccas and Bandas, should enjoy one-third of the export and import trade, and the Dutch two-thirds, and that commissioners should be appointed to regulate the trade;—the charges of the garrisons to be paid in the same proportion;—that each Company should furnish ten ships of war, for common defence, but that these ships were not to be employed to bring cargoes to Europe, but only in the carrying trade, from one part of the East-Indies to another;—and that the whole proceedings should be under the regulation of a *Council of Defence*, in the Indies, composed of four members from each Company. This treaty was to be binding for twenty years. (1)

India Companies.—Establishment of the Council of Defence.

The immediate effect of the treaty of 1619, on the conduct of the Company in England, was to induce them to fit out the greatest fleet which they had hitherto sent to the East, of which the largest ship was one thousand tons burden, and several of the others seven hundred tons: the investment for this voyage was estimated at £62,490 in money, and £28,508 in goods.

Effect of this treaty on the equipments and stock.

This fleet consisted of the number of ships which the treaty had specified, and it will immediately appear, that had the Dutch, in

(1)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvii, page 170.

CHAP. I. 1619-20. in the East, acted up to the spirit or letter of the treaty, the returns would have been immense; but nine of the English ships were detained in the East-Indies, and one only returned with an investment, the sale amount of which produced £108,887.(1)

State of the trade at Surat and in Persia. As far as can be collected from the Company's foreign correspondence of this season (1619-20) the factory at SURAT, and the stations dependant on it, on the Malabar Coast, continued to act under the privileges which Sir Thomas Roe had obtained; and the only object, which seems to have occupied the attention of the Company's servants on the West of India, was the improvement of the trade in Persia, under the Phirmaunds and treaty which had been concluded in the preceding season.

The agents at ISAPHAN reported, that, on the return of the Shah, or King of Persia, to that capital, in June 1619, they had delivered King James's letter to him, in form, and in the presence of the Portuguese, Indian, Turkish, Russian, Tartarian, and Usbeck Ambassadors;—that the letter had been graciously received, and promises given, that satisfaction should be made to the English, for the losses they had sustained by the Portuguese galliots;—that all the conditions in the treaty with the English should be fulfilled, and, in a particular manner, the contract

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked "Detached Accounts," No. 10.

CHAP. I. 1619-20.

contract for the exportation of silk by sea. Subsequently, the King of Persia intimated his design of recovering Ormus from the Portuguese; and, on the arrival of the English caravan at Ispahan, when presents were made to the Shah, the agents solicited his permission to establish a factory at GOMBROON, that port being eight days' journey nearer Ispahan than the port of Jasques. (1)

Trade at Bantam, in Sumatra, at the Spice Islands, and in Japan, depressed by the opposition of the Dutch.

The accounts from BANTAM, this season, furnish only a short continuation of the disastrous events which marked the details of the preceding year. In the month of October 1619, the Company's ships, under the command of Captain Bonner, which had taken in their pepper at Tekoo, were attacked near that port, by a Dutch fleet of six sail; after a severe action, in which Captain Bonner was killed, his ship, the Dragon, was sunk, and the other three ships, the Bear, the Expedition, and the Rose, were compelled to surrender. (2)

After such a calamity, it could not be expected that reinforcements could be sent from Bantam to the new English settlements in the Bandas or Moluccas, which, therefore, in fact, remained in a defenceless situation, exposed to such attacks as the Dutch ships and armaments might be disposed to make on them.

The factors in JAPAN, at this crisis, after receiving information of the capture of two of the Company's ships, and of the distressed situation of the English settlements in the Moluccas,

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Factors at Ispahan to the Court, 16th October 1619. (No. 532.)

(2)—Letter from Mr. Hoare, at Bantam, to the Court, October 1619. (No. 550.)

CHAP. I. 1619-20. luccas, purchased a junk at Nagasaki, and dispatched her, with provisions, for their relief; these factors, notwithstanding all their hardships, in this manner endeavoured to keep a hold on the Japan trade, and requested a supply of sapan-wood, deer skins, broad-cloths, and lead, which would sell well in the Japan market.

Mr. Cocks, one of the factors, had been at Meaco, to solicit the Emperor's protection; but, even here, was opposed by a Dutch agent. As no ships from England had arrived, for three years, the English factors were distressed by the Dutch captures of the junks: — the Dutch, at this time, had been defeated by the Spanish fleet from the Manillas, and therefore turned their depredations on the Chinese junks;— this event checked the indirect trade with China, which the factors had been endeavouring to support, who, therefore, represented, that unless the Company could open a direct trade with the Chinese empire, or establish a settlement in the Moluccas, the Japan trade ought to be abandoned, because it was only with a view to the China and Molucca trade, that the Japan trade was worth keeping, as it furnished provisions of all kinds for the Company's shipping and factories; under these circumstances, they had resolved to remove from Firando to Nagasaki, as this last port had an excellent harbour, favorably situated for trading, either to China, or to the Spice Islands. (1)

(1)—Letters from the Factors at Nagasaki and Firando, in Japan, to the Court, 10th March 1619-20. (Nos. 521, 522, 523.)

1620-21.

CHAP. I.
1620-21
The individuals who had sustained losses from the Dutch petition the King for redress.

Several events occurred in England, during the season 1620-21, which discover, that the King and the Privy Council were disposed to afford protection to the East-India trade, and that, in fact, the interference of the Crown had become indispensable, as the encroachments of the Dutch Company threatened equally the rights and the trade of the London Company.

For a series of years, the numerous individuals who had suffered in their persons and in their property, from the oppressions of the Dutch, in the East-Indies had presented petitions to the King and Privy Council, praying for redress. Of this description was the petition, in 1620, of Thomas Hewes, who represented that his father's ship, the Swan, employed by the East-India Company, had been taken and plundered by the Dutch ship, Morning Star, on the 2d February 1616-17, and that his father, after the capture, had been wantonly wounded by the Dutch officers;—in support of his petition, he produced evidence, to establish that his losses amounted to £4,000 sterling, and prayed, either that redress might be granted to him, or that he might be permitted to make reprisals on the Dutch to that amount. (1)

(1)—Petition of Thomas Hewes against the Dutch East-India Company, 10th October 1620. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 15).

CHAP. I.

1620-21.

Two of the Directors of the Company sent to Holland, to give information to Sir Dudley Carleton, the King's Ambassador, to whom the East-India business was referred.

It would be unnecessary to specify the numerous petitions of this description, farther than to refer to them, as the source of that attention to the subject, which the urgency of the case required. This business was referred to Sir Dudley Carleton, the King's Ambassador at the Hague, and the Company sent over Sir Dudley Digges, one of their Committees, or Directors, and Mr. Morris Abbott, their Deputy Governor, to solicit his good offices; the Court of Directors, farther addressed a letter to him, stating that the King having recommended the East-India Company, on account of their sufferings from the Dutch, to the States General, they had sent these commissioners, to request he would afford them his advice and assistance, in their application for redress.[1]

The King specifies the points on which redress was required.

The reference by King James to the States General, for redress of the grievances which the London East-India Company had experienced from the Dutch Company, specified in plain terms, " the points upon which the King would consent to " such regulations, as the Council of Defence might, on consul-" tation, agree to," as follows:—that the English and Dutch Companies should be authorised to make settlements, at the distance of ten leagues, at least, from each other, excepting in the Bandas, Moluccas, and Amboyna; and, with regard to these three stations, that two years' time should be allowed to each Company to advise and fix on those places which were to be fortified,

(1)—Original Letter from the East-India Company to Sir Dudley Carleton, 15th November 1620. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 16).

fortified, but at the end of this period, each Company might erect forts, at the most commodious situations for their trade; —that the English Company should build a place for the residence of the Council of Defence;—that all new forts, erected by the Dutch, in the Moluccas, Bandas, or Amboyna, subsequent to the treaty (1619), should be demolished;—that the number of ships to be employed in India, according to the treaty (1619), should be diminished, if consistent with the general safety;—that each Company should take cognizance of offences committed by their own members;—that the point of sovereignty should be reciprocally suspended;—that the English should be placed on an equal footing with the Dutch, with respect to the payment and victualling of the garrisons;—that the Dutch governors in the East-Indies should be rebuked, and their inferiors punished, for the injuries and insults committed by them, against the English;—and the King promised the same, on the part of his own subjects, and that His Majesty, and the States General, would give orders to the respective Companies to avoid all occasions of dispute.(1)

The King addresses letters to Shah Abbas, in favor of the Company's trade in Persia.

The King, in this season, patronized the plan of the East-India Company, for extending their trade to Persia. An answer having been received, to the letters which the agents of the Company had, in his name, presented to the Shah of Persia, the King, on the 19th March 1620-21, addressed a letter to Shah Abbas, in which, after thanking him for the favor he had

 shewn

(1)—Paper entitled " Points whereupon His Ma^{tie.} doth declare himself, touching the East-India business," 20th January 1620-1. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 17).

CHAP. I.
1620-21.

shewn to the English merchants, requested a continuance of this protection, and that the additional privilege of having a mart-town, near the port of Jasques, might be conferred on them, at which they might enjoy that liberty of trade, which had been granted to them in the Persian dominions, and where the Persians might have an opportunity of purchasing English goods, in exchange for silks. (1)

Such was the situation of the Dutch and English Companies, when their respective rights were subjects of remonstrances and negotiation, rather than of settlement, by King James and the States General: and this circumstance accounts for a deficiency in the instructions to the London Company's foreign factories, at a period when it was thought more expedient by the King and the States General, that each Company should be obsequious to the orders of their sovereigns, on the basis of the treaty (1619), than that the Council of Defence should be obstructed in their proceedings, by the private orders of the Directors of either of the India Companies.

Captain Shillinge takes possession of Saldanha Bay, in the name of the King of England.

The Company's outward-bound ships sailed this season, at the usual period; that division which was destined for Surat was commanded by Captain Shillinge, and that for Bantam by Captain Fitzherbert. On the outward-bound passage, Captain Shillinge touched at Saldanha Bay, and, by a formal

(1)—Letter from King James I. to Shah Abbas, King of Persia, 19th March 1620-21. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, vol. vi, No. 632).

formal Proclamation, dated the 23d July 1620, took possession of this Bay, and of the adjacent country, in the name of the King of England, on the condition expressed in the Company's Charter, that no other European power had, at this time, claimed a right to that part of the Coast of Africa; reserving to his Majesty, by proclamation, the right of assuming the sovereignty of those districts, under any title which he might be pleased to adopt. By this act, the right of the Crown of England, to the Cape of Good Hope, was established by actual possession, many years prior to the period when the Dutch took possession of it, as a colony; it is, therefore, a plain inference, that the Cape colony, and even Saldanha Bay, were held to be within the London Company's limits. (1)

The Council of Defence in India, oppose and decide against the English claims at Bantam and the Spice Islands.

As the intercourse of the English and Dutch East-India Companies had hitherto been transient, at SURAT, or in PERSIA, or on the WEST COAST OF INDIA, the proceedings of the Council of Defence, appointed under the treaty (1619), regarded chiefly the English and Dutch transactions in the Island of Java, and at the Spice Islands. It appears, that the Council of Defence had been established at Jaccatra, agreeably to the terms of the treaty (1619);—that the English and Dutch Commissioners had presided alternately, every month, and that, though the general articles of the treaty had been carried into effect, the particular injunctions of what formed the first article, or the restitution of the ships and goods taken by the Dutch, from the English, had been evaded.

At

(1)—Proclamation on taking possession of the Bay of Saldanha, on the Coast of Africa, 23d July 1620. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked A, bound, page 1).

CHAP. I. 1620-21. At a general conference held by the English and Dutch Commissioners, in July 1620, the latter consented to restore the ships, but refused to give up the goods or stores, taken by individuals, under the subterfuge, that these goods and stores had not been in the Dutch Company's possession, and yet insisted on the restitution of goods taken by the English, without admitting a reciprocal refusal from the English Commissioners, or that the goods were not in the possession of the London East-India Company.

The next object of conference was the equal participation in the pepper trade by the respective Companies, which had been stipulated by an express article in the treaty. The Dutch Commissioners, without pretending to question the force of this article, insisted that, as a previous step to compliance, the English Company should indemnify them for the expences they had incurred at the siege of Bantam, and for the charges of erecting a large and strong fort at that place, for the protection of trade.

A third subject of discussion was, the pretensions of the Dutch, that they had acquired the rights of Royalty at Jaccatra, and at all the places where they had erected fortifications. To this claim the English Commissioners objected; and the Dutch answered, that by the treaty they were only enjoined to allow the English to live in, and to carry on trade at those places, under the protection of the Dutch laws; and, on the ground of right of Royalty, refused permission to the English settlers, to cut timber for the erection of houses or factories.

A fourth

A fourth subject of dispute was, the expences incurred by the Dutch, in building eighteen forts in the Moluccas and at the Banda Islands, and the charges of maintaining them, which they estimated at £60,000 sterling per annum; and therefore, previously to the English being admitted to a proportion in the spice trade, the Dutch insisted, that they were bound to pay one-half of those charges. To this, the English Commissioners answered, that many of those forts were built by the Dutch, as defences against the Spaniards and Portuguese, with whom the English were not at war, and in places, at which no produce, or spices, could be found or expected.

The English Factors state the impracticability of the trade, unless the oppressions of the Dutch were checked.

The English Commissioners, therefore, represented to the Court, that notwithstanding the existence of the Council of Defence, they had not been permitted to build a factory at Jaccatra, unless they would consent to erect it in such an inconvenient situation as might be pointed out by the Dutch; and, farther, that no native workmen could be procured, but under an order from the Dutch General, who had even commanded an Englishman to be whipped, for denying the supreme authority of the Dutch at Jaccatra;—the English Commissioners, therefore, submitted, that measures should be adopted, in Europe, to check these overbearing proceedings, or otherwise, that it would be impracticable to carry on the Company's trade. (1)

These proceedings were not confined to the settlements more immediately under the inspection of the Council of Defence,

(1) – Letters from the Factory at Jaccatra to the Court, 12th and 20th July 1620. (Nos. 597, 601).

CHAP. I. fence, for though intelligence had been received, this season, 1620-21. at ACHEEN, of the treaty (1619,) and of the constitution of this Council, no alteration had taken place in the conduct of the Dutch, with respect to the English factory, so that there remained but one method, only, for establishing the trade, or that the English should receive a reinforcement from Europe, to make them equal, in naval and military power, to the Dutch. (1)

(1)—Letters from the Factory at Acheen to the Court, 15th July 1620. (No. 597, B.)

1621-22.

CHAP. I.
1621-22.
Company's equipments and stock reduced this season, from the arbitrary proceedings of the Council of Defence.

If the equipment of the year 1620-21 had been considerable, because, under the treaty of 1619, each Company were bound to send out ten ships, well armed, for the purpose of co-operating, in preserving the respective trade and settlements of England and of Holland, the detention, in the Indies, of the whole of the English proportion, with the exception of one ship, could not but have the effect of lowering that confidence in this treaty, which had led to the large equipments of the preceding season;—the equipment, therefore, of the London Company, for the year 1621-22, consisted only of four ships, the cargoes of which were estimated at £12,900 in money (Spanish rials), and at £6,253 in goods. The fate of this fleet was equally unfortunate, with that of the preceding year, as one ship, only, of this fleet, returned to England, the remaining three having been detained in the Indies, for the protection of the English settlements and trade; but the great loss, sustained by the Company, from this interruption of their trade, may be estimated, from the value of the cargo which was brought home, by this single ship, consisting of pepper, cloves, &c., which, at the sale, produced £94,464. (1)

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked "Detached Accounts." No. 10.

CHAP. I. 1621-22. Reasons for this reduction given by the Court to Sir Dudley Carleton.

The reasons of the Court, for this small equipment, are explained in their letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, the King's Ambassador at the Hague, dated 28th July 1621, in which, after expressing their acknowledgements to him, for his great exertions in carrying into effect the King's intentions with respect to the London Company, they unfolded what they apprehended would be the issue of the negotiation, or the sending of Dutch Commissioners to England, to hold conferences with the Directors of the London Company;—and submitted, that it would be expedient, as the subjects to be discussed were political as well as commercial, and involved the rights of the two Nations, as well as of the two Companies, that a part of the Commissioners should, if practicable, be members of the States General, authorized to treat with his Majesty, and to determine on the two great points at issue, *viz.* the restitution of places and property, and the relinquishment, on the part of the Dutch, of the pretensions to exclusive sovereignty, in certain places in the Indies, under which the Council of Defence had evaded compliance with the terms of the treaty of 1619. (1)

In explanation, it was specified, that the restitution required ought not to be of the goods or money, actually taken, but of the amount of both, according to the value which they would have produced in India, if they had not been seized, and divided by the Dutch; and that the pretext of the English having assisted the

(1)—Original Letter from the Directors of the East-India Company to Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador at the Hague, 28th July 1621. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No 29).

the natives, was an evasion only, as the arms given to them formed one of the conditions on which those natives had ceded the trade to the English in places not previously occupied by the Dutch. (1)

Dutch Commissioners arrive in England, to negotiate on the explanations required of the treaty 1619:—this negotiation broken off by the King's Ministers.

The Commissioners from Holland arrived in England, and met with the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Lord President, Marquis of Hamilton, Lord Chamberlain, Lord Falkland, Lord Digby, Lord Brooke, Mr. Secretary Calvert, the Chancellor, and the Master of the Rolls, who were delegated to manage the conference, on the part of the King, and to decide on the respective claims of the two Companies. The Commissioners took into consideration, first, the important subject of restitution of the goods which the Dutch had seized in the East-Indies. It was, as a general principle, readily assented to, by both parties, that the restitution was just, and should be made, in money, in Holland; but when the question came to be agitated, what should be allowed to the Dutch for the freight, assurance, and charges of bringing the goods to Europe, their Commissioners claimed so high a sum, as £130 per last, for freight, and ten per cent. for assurance. To this demand the English Company answered, that £25, or £28, per last, was the highest freight that ever had been given, from India :—hence the difference between the demand, and the offer, was so great, that the Lords of the Council consented, for the termination of the dispute,

(1)—State of the Question concerning Restitution between the English and Dutch East-India Companies, 7th January 1621-22. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 20).

CHAP. I. 1621-22. dispute, to allow, after consulting the most respectable merchants, £35 per last. This, the Dutch Commissioners rejected; on which the Lords of the Council offered, that the London Company should agree to bring the same quantity of goods, from the Indies to Holland, freight free, and to allow the compensation to remain, as a security for the performance of this condition: upon which the Dutch Commissioners returned to their first exorbitant demand, and the Lords of the Council broke off the conference, and represented the substance of it to the King, that his Majesty might be prepared to obviate any claims which the States might make, on the subject, contrary to reason and to justice. (1)

State of Trade at Surat and in Persia.

The attention of the Company's factors in the Indies, in this year (1621-22), seems to have been wholly directed to the establishment of the trade between Surat and Persia, and to the proceedings of the Council of Defence, which, in the last season, was described to have commenced its sittings, at Jaccatra, or Batavia.

At

(1)—Report from the Lords of the Privy Council to the King, of a conference held with the Dutch Commissioners, 9th February 1621-2. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 21).—— Answers to the Reasons of the Dutch Company, against Restitution in Holland. (East-India Papers, without date, in the State Paper Office, No. 48).—— Complaints of the East-India Company against the Dutch. (East-India Papers, without date, in the State Paper Office, No. 65).—— State of the Question between the English and Dutch Companies, about 1621-2. (East-India Papers, without date, in the State Paper Office, No. 68).—— Reasons of the East-India Company, to prove their offer of freight reasonable. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, without date, No. 68.)

At Surat, the factory proceeded upon the Phirmaunds and privileges which had been obtained from Jehanguire, during the time of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy :—the Dutch influence at that port was, at this time, inconsiderable, as their factors directed their chief attention to intrigues, on the Malabar side of India, and at the Persian ports, that they might connect the trade in Surat goods, with that of Persia.

The English compelled to assist the Persians, on the arrival of a Portuguese fleet in the Gulf of Persia.

In November 1620, two of the Company's ships (the Hart and Eagle) had proceeded from Surat to Jasques, but on their attempting to enter that port, they found it blockaded by a Portuguese fleet, consisting of four gallions, one large galley, and sixteen (of what are described to be) frigates, or vessels of smaller dimensions, under the command of Admiral Ruy Frere. The Hart and Eagle were obliged, from the superior force of the Portuguese fleet, to return to Surat, to obtain, if possible, reinforcements. At this port, they were joined by the London and Roebuck, and again sailed for Jasques, off which, an indecisive action ensued: —the Portuguese gave way, and allowed the English ships to enter the port; and then retired to Ormus, to refit, but returned to Jasques Roads to renew the action : the conflict was obstinate, but terminated in favor of the English, who lost their commodore (Captain Shillinge) and then entered the port of Jasques. This action raised the English character for naval bravery, and facilitated the purchases which the factors were making of Persian silks. Mr. Monnox, the Company's agent, had, at this time, sent a caravan from Ispahan to Jasques, with several hundred bales of silk :— on the journey, it was stopped in Mogustan, by the

CHAP. I.
1621-22.

the Khan of Shiras, not so much with the object of interrupting the trade, as to force the English to assist the Persians against the Portuguese; a measure to which they were unwilling to accede, lest such open hostility might lead to questions in Europe. On the arrival of the English, at Jasques, in December 1621, the Khan refused to allow them to take in their cargoes, unless they would previously agree to assist the Persians, in repelling the Portuguese aggressions, and, as the ships had lost the monsoon, they were compelled to accede to this condition, or to interrupt the trade. (1)

The Council of Defence oblige the English factors to leave Jaccatra, and retire to Bantam, who represent to the Court the necessity of breaking off the Dutch connexion.

The proceedings of the Council of Defence, which had assembled at Jaccatra, and to which the factory at BANTAM had been removed, on the faith that the Dutch would act up to the terms of the treaty, instead of relieving the London Company's servants, and trade, from the oppressions which the treaty professed to remedy, tended, on the one hand, to raise the power of the Dutch higher than it had been, and, on the other, to depress the English settlements and trade, and, in fact, to endanger the existence of both.

This Council, instead of allowing the English their proportion of the trade in pepper, would not permit them to trade in any of the goods in which they themselves dealt; the factors, therefore, intimated to the Court, that their intention was to return to Bantam, and again to open the pepper trade, between that port and England, as from it, alone, ten ships, of eight hundred tons each, might annually be filled with pepper, if the Dutch would allow

(1)—Account of Occurrences in Persia, in 1619, 1620, 1621. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, No. 696).

allow the natives to bring it in, without obstructions; but, on the contrary, they had determined to bear down the merchants of every other country, by raising the price, so as to render the trade unproductive to all other nations:—the factors farther reported, that the Dutch were continuing the same cruelty towards the English, as commercial rivals, of which they had, for so many years, been complaining, and, therefore, submitted the necessity of dissolving the connexion with that nation, because, if continued, the business could not prosper.

The Company's factors attempt to open a trade at Pullicat and Pettipolee, on the Coromandel Coast, but are obstructed by the Dutch.

It had been, at this time, in contemplation, to establish exchanges between the English factories in Java, and the Coromandel Coast, on the presumption, that Coast cloths would sell at the ports which afforded pepper and spices, with a profit that would enable the factors to enlarge their investments in those articles, and that pepper and spices would produce a profit on the Coromandel Coast:—as soon, therefore, as the Company's factors were informed of the Establishment of the Council of Defence, under the treaty (1619), and after that Council had commenced its sittings at Jaccatra, English factors were sent to Pullicat, which was protected by Fort Geldria, and a Dutch garrison, to claim admission to a share in the trade. The Dutch, without absolutely refusing to admit them, stated that the accommodation they could give to the English, within the fort, would depend upon its being convenient for themselves, but that they might build a house without the fort, for their own accommodation and trade, provided they would agree to defray their proportion of the charges of the garrison. By

thus

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thus adding to the expence of building a factory, a proportion of the charges of the garrison, the this plan was found to be impracticable:— the English President and Council at Jaccatra, therefore, gave it as their opinion, that the establishing a trade on the Coromandel Coast, particularly at Pullicat, must be relinquished; and, if such exchanges were to be tried, a factory ought to be fixed at Pettipolee, as this place was disconnected with the Dutch settlements, and an intercourse with the native artificers and merchants might be opened.

The Council of Defence employ the combined English and Dutch fleet to make captures of the Portuguese and Spanish ships at Manilla, against the opinion of the English Factors.

The efforts of the Company's servants at Jaccatra, to continue the trade to the Spice Islands, and to Japan, were, in the same manner, obstructed by the Dutch, who employed every expedient to exclude the English, not only from any participation in the trade, but from the islands or coasts in the Southern Seas:—the English agents, therefore, reported that if the English and Dutch fleets, under the Treaty of Defence, had acted for the common interest, there could have been no doubt but they might have got possession of Macao, and ruined the Spanish and Portuguese trade to China, the Manillas, and Malacca; this fleet, however, instead of acting up to the treaty, had proceeded against Manilla, where they had acquired a considerable share of plunder, but the English ships had, from the overbearing conduct of the Dutch, been obliged to separate, and to allow the Dutch to retain almost the whole of the prizes, having only received such a proportion as would scarcely cover the expences of equipment:—the President and Council, therefore, recommended that the fleets of the two nations

tions, in any future expedition, should act separately, and each be authorized to derive such benefits from conquests, or captures, or from the establishment of seats of trade, as they might acquire by their own efforts:—the factories at Japan and Siam had become so expensive and unprofitable, that it was intended to withdraw both; but Mr. Towerson, one of their number, had been sent to Amboyna, to endeavour to preserve the English factories on that island.[1] CHAP. I. 1621-22.

(1)—Letters from the President and Council at Batavia to the Court, 10th December (1621. 22 Nos. 688. 639.)—— MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked F. 1, unbound, page 109.—— Letter from the Factors at Firando, in Japan, to the Court, 20th September 1621. (No. 669.)

1622-23.

CHAP. I.
1622-23.

Equipments and stock for the season.

THE equipments of the London Company, in 1622-23, were on as limited a scale, as in the preceding season, though the cargoes were, in a small degree, increased. The ships were five in number, and the stock was estimated at £61,600 in money, and £6,430 in goods:—the homeward ships, which had arrived safe, were, also, five in number, and the amount from the sales was large, or £389,500; but whether this included a proportion of the investment of the last season, does not appear from the Company's records. [1]

Renewal of the conferences, between the Dutch Commissioners and the King's Ministers.

The conferences, between the Dutch Commissioners and the Lords of the Privy Council, had, in a great measure, been broken off, their Lordships having made a report to the King in the preceding season, of the unreasonable demand of the Dutch on the subject of restitution. In this situation of the business, reference had again been made to Sir Dudley Carleton, to endeavour to settle the precise points on which the Dutch would agree. The first article was general, or that the English Company should fix on some place, within sixty leagues of Jaccatra, which should be fortified, and at which, and at Jaccatra, the Council of Defence should alternately reside for three months;—this article was agreed to:—the Dutch next requir-ed,

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked "Detached Accounts," No. 10.

ed, that the English should send ten ships to the Indies;—this article the Ambassador answered, by referring to the terms of the treaty:—the Dutch then required a specification of sums, for the maintenance of forts and garrisons;—the Ambassador again referred to the terms of the treaty:—the demand, that the fugitives of each nation should be delivered up on requisition, was mutually admitted:—the proposition, for the punishment of the servants of each nation, for crimes, was omitted, by common consent:—the demand of the English, that neither Company should be liable to the charges for colleges, or schools, in the Indies, which might be established by the other, was mutually agreed to:—the terms of the letters of reprisal, it was settled, should be referred to His Majesty:—the building of forts in the Indies, had been settled by the twenty-fourth article of the treaty (1619), with the explanation, that the English and Dutch should enjoy equal benefit in the trade of India, in their respective proportions, of one-third to the English, and two-thirds to the Dutch; and that the Island of Polaroon should be restored to the English:—a general article being added, binding both parties to the observation of the precise terms of this treaty. (1)

CHAP. I. 1622-23.

In proportion as opportunities offered to the Dutch to evade the terms of the treaty of 1619, they availed themselves of their predominant

Company's servants and property at

(1)—Explanation, by Sir Dudley Carleton, of the points in dispute relative to the Treaty of 1619, dated 4th January 1622-23. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 27).—Propositions

CHAP. I. 1622-23

predominant influence in the Council of Defence, in the Indies which increased the embarrassments of the Company's servants.

Surat seized, in consequence of the capture of some Mogul ships by the Dutch.

At SURAT, and, in general, on the WEST COAST OF INDIA, the Dutch ships, at this juncture, made prizes of several of the Mogul ships, belonging to the Guzzerat. The governors of these districts, not having had sufficient opportunities to distinguish the different flags of the Europeans, resorting to these seas, considered the whole to have acted in concert, and therefore ordered the English agents and factors at Surat, at Agra, and at Ahmedabad, to be imprisoned, and their houses of trade, and goods, to be seized, to compensate for the losses of the Mogul subjects at sea:—the factors explained to the Mogul governors, that neither they, nor the English, had been concerned in, nor guilty of the robberies committed by the Dutch, and obtained their release, and the re-delivery of their goods; but had been obliged to give presents, or bribes, to the principal officers. These expences, the factors proposed to compensate by resorting to the dangerous expedient of seizing on the Mogul ships which anually went from Surat to Judda, partly for the purposes of trade, but chiefly for the accommodation of the Mahomedan pilgrims, in their passage from India to Mecca.

The English and Persians take Ormus

This critical situation of affairs did not retard the measures for establishing a trade to PERSIA. In the preceding season, the

Propositions for the Execution of the Articles of the Treaty, and the Explanation thereof, between the two Companies. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, without date, No. 5.)

CHAP. I. 1622-23.

the English ships had defeated the Portuguese fleet off Jasques, but had been obliged, in order to obtain leave to load Persian produce, to agree to join the Persians, in opposing the Portuguese. Under this stipulation, an expedition, consisting of the English ships and a Persian army, was prepared, and sent against Ormus:—the attack was chiefly conducted by the English, and the city and the castle taken, on the 22d April 1622;—the surrender was made to the English, and the Portuguese commander, Ruy Frere, and the principal officers, sent prisoners to Surat. On this occasion, the English received a proportion of the plunder of Ormus, and a grant of the moiety of the customs at the port of Gombroon, which place, in the sequel, we shall find the principal English station in the Persian Gulf. The treaty of 1615, made by Mr. Connock, was also renewed, and an additional Phirmaund granted by the King, allowing the English to purchase whatever proportion of Persian silks they might think proper, in any part of his dominions, and to bring the goods to Ispahan, without payment of duties. (1)

from the Portuguese, and the Company acquire a right to the moiety of the Customs at Gombroon, as a remuneration.

The Company's servants at JACCATRA, or BATAVIA, who, since the treaty 1619, had taken the title of President and Council, on receiving information of the expedition to, and capture of Ormus, condemned the measure, as having detained the ships in the Gulf of Persia, and blamed the co-operation with the Persians, as a rash and ill-advised measure: because the pepper investment

The English President and Council at Batavia propose to withdraw from that station.

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked E. 1, unbound, page 145.—— Narrative of Occurrences in Persia, 1621, 1622. (No. 696.)—— King of Persia's Phirmaund to the English, in 1622. (No. 762.)—— Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 298.

CHAP. I. 1622-23. investment had been lost, from the Company's ships not arriving at Acheen as expected, and because the trade, in general, had suffered, from the shipping intended for the Java and Sumatra trade having been detained by the factors at Surat.

The relative circumstances of the Dutch and English, at Batavia, continued in the same precarious situation, as in the preceding year. The Dutch, instead of defraying two-thirds of the expences of the factories in the Moluccas, had monopolized the whole trade, and applied only the one-third, paid by the English, to defray the charges, both of the English and Dutch settlements. The general object of the Dutch, during the period in which the trade of the two countries might remain united, and regulated by the Council of Defence, being to raise the charges so high, that it might become impracticable for the English to participate in it; the English factors, therefore, deliberated, whether it would not be more wise to withdraw their factories from Amboyna, Banda, and the Moluccas, and to sell the remainder of their goods to their opponents, than to expose the Company to ruin, by incurring charges, and yet being excluded from the trade; stating, as the source of their distress, that the same oppressions which they had experienced by the conduct of the last Dutch general, Van Coens, had been continued by his successor, Pieter Carpentier, who openly asserted the right of sovereignty over the countries in which the Dutch trade was situated, and that the English had only a title, by the treaty, to act as subordinate traders.

At

At Bantam, indeed, the Pangran continued at war with the Dutch, till they should agree to demolish the fort at Jaccatra: and this chief had offered to allow the English to return to Bantam, and re-establish their trade at that port; but the President and Council could not listen to the proposition, because the Dutch would interpret it into a breach of the treaty, and because the English had not a force to resist the attacks of their nominal ally, but real enemy.* It was in this season, that the English President and Council began to speculate on the importance of the exchanges between the factories in Java and Sumatra, and the Coromandel Coast, having received a considerable quantity of Coast goods from Masulipatam, which had sold to advantage, and therefore resolved, in consequence of the oppressions of the Dutch at Pullicat, to withdraw that factory.(1)

CHAP. I.
1622-3.
The King of Bantam continues friendly to the English.

(1)—Letter from the President and Council at Batavia to the Court, 27th August 1622, and 9th February 1622-3. (Nos. 733, 706.)

1623-24.

CHAP. I.
1623-24.

The Equipments and Stock of this season considerably encreased.

NOTWITHSTANDING the preceding unfavorable aspect of the Company's affairs abroad, five of their ships arrived in England, in the season 1623-24, with considerable quantities of pepper, and the finer spices (cloves, mace, and nutmegs), which at their sales produced £485,593, exclusive of the sale of the Persian raw-silk, which amounted to £97,000, and to these sums were added £80,000, received this year from the Dutch, in compensation of the losses and injuries which the Company had sustained, previously to the treaty of 1619. These circumstances account for the large equipment of this season (1623-24), which consisted of seven ships, with a stock estimated at £68,720 (in Spanish rials), and £17,345 in goods. (1)

Disputes between the Company and the Duke of Buckingham, on the proportion claimed by the Duke, as Lord High Admiral, and by the King, of the prize-money taken at Ormus.

While this fleet was preparing for sea, a claim was made by the King, as a right of the Crown, and by the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral, on the Company, for a proportion of the prize-money, which their ships were supposed to have obtained, in the seas bordering on the countries within their limits. These demands, it would appear, had proceeded from the general impression, that immense sums had been acquired by the Company and their officers, at Ormus, and had been carried to their account, by their factors at Surat. For the purpose

(1)—MSS in the Indian Register Office, marked " Detached Accounts," No. 10.

purpose of establishing a ground for those claims, references were made, by the King and the Duke of Buckingham, to Sir Henry Martin, Judge of the Admiralty, and other civilians, to ascertain the King's, and the Lord Admiral's rights, the former to a proportion of prize-money belonging to the Crown, the latter to one-tenth of the prize-money, in right of his office:—the first question appears to have been admitted, the Governor and Directors not feeling it to be their duty, to dispute any point with his Majesty; the second question they resisted, on the plea that they had not acted under any letters of marque from the Lord High Admiral, but only under their charter, and contended, that he had not any right to a tenth of the prize-money, which had arisen from their having made prizes of ships, or taken plunder from their enemies.

In order, however to substantiate the claims, both of the King and of the Lord High Admiral, examinations were taken of Captain Weddell, Captain Blith, Captain Clevenger, Captain Beversham, and Mr. Embrey, the commanders and officers of several of the Company's ships, which had made prizes, in the East-Indies, from the Portuguese, and particularly of those officers who had been employed at the taking of Ormus, from which it appeared, that, according to their statements, the amount of the prize-money, was, in general, calculated at about £100,000, and 240,000 rials of eight:—but this amount was estimated, without taking into view the charges and losses incurred by the Company in their equipments, or by their ships being called off from commercial engagements, to act as ships of war

CHAP. I. 1623-24. for the protection of their trade, and to assist the native powers, by whom they had been compelled either to act, or to relinquish that trade, in the acquisition of which they had expended very large sums.

In this state of the business, the ships of this season were stopped at Tilbury, the Company "put in arrest," and all their solicitations to the King, and to the Admiral, rejected. At last, they were obliged to compound, by paying £10,000 to the Duke of Buckingham, to discharge his claim, and received an order from Sir Edward Conway, the Secretary of State, to pay, also, £10,000 to the King. (1)

The Company's fleet, being released from the arrest, as we shall subsequently find, by their proceedings, sailed for the East-Indies; and, in the meantime, the King was so far reconciled, as to interpose his authority, in favor of the Company, by again referring their business to the consideration of the Dutch Ambassadors, and the Lords of the Council, and by endeavouring to obtain the assent of the States General, to a set of regulations for the future

(1)—Minutes of the Negotiations between the King, the Duke of Buckingham, and the East-India Company, relative to Prize-Money, from 23d July 1623 to June 1624. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 30).—— Examination of Officers, relative to the Capture of Portuguese Ships, and the taking of Ormus, December 1623 and January 1623-24. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 31).—— Copy of the Duke of Buckingham's Receipt for £10,000 from the East-India Company, 28th April 1624, attested by Mr. Sherburne, Secretary to the East-India Company. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 36).—— Copy of Letter from Sir Edward Conway to the East-India Company, desiring them to pay £10,000 for the King's use, 15th July 1624, attested by Mr. Sherburne, Secretary to the East-India Company. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 38).

future proceedings of the two Companies in the East-Indies. On this basis, the Governor and Deputy Governor of the London Company addressed a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, the English Ambassador at the Hague, praying the continuance of his good offices, and that he would, from his knowledge of the whole of the subjects which had been under the consideration of the Commissioners at London, attend to the adoption of the regulations by the States, and afford the Company his advice for their conduct. (1)

The Company's servants at Surat released from confinement, and trade revived.

The interruption which the trade at SURAT had experienced, in the preceding season, by the factors having been imprisoned at Surat, at Agra, and at Ahmedabad, though subsequently released, and allowed to proceed with the Company's business, on giving presents to the Mogul officers, had, happily, not terminated in the rash expedient of obtaining a compensation, by seizing on the Mogul ships in their return from Judda; affairs, at Surat, therefore, had proceeded without molestation, and the attention of the Agents had been chiefly given to support the factors in PERSIA, in their endeavours, to confirm the hold which the Company had got of the trade of that country, by the services of their officers at Ormus, and to obtain, from the King, Phirmaunds for a full right to the silk trade.

Additional Phirmaunds

The letters which King James had written to Shah Abbas, were

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(1)—Letter from the Governor and Deputy Governor of the East-India Company to Sir Dudley Carleton, 8th February 1623-24. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 23.)

CHAP. I. 1623-24.

obtained for trade in Persia, in consequence of King James's letter to the King.

were this season (1623-24) delivered to him, by two of the Company's factors, with the requisite solemnity and presents;—and, on the basis of the King's request for a grant of additional privileges, they (after the Khan of Shiras arrived at Ispahan), solicited and obtained a Phirmaund, which allowed the English freedom of trade, with an exemption from all duties, and a free passage through the country of Lar (Laristan). After receiving this Phirmaund, conferences were held by the King with the Company's agents, to settle the accommodation to be given to the English at the port of Gombroon:—the result was, that permission was given them to occupy two houses, though, from the jealousy of the English force, they were prohibited from building a house, lest they "should give to it the strength "of a castle." It was subsequently settled, that the English might have an agent at Ispahan, to negotiate their business, and that the silk which they purchased, might be brought, free of duty, to that capital; but the proposal of their paying one-third of the price in money, and two-thirds in English goods, was rejected.

Having thus described the privileges the English had obtained, the agent and factors informed the Court, that the plunder taken at Ormus, in money, jewels, and goods, had been sold by the captors at Gombroon, and that the amount had not been carried to the Company's account;—that the Persians had fortified the castles of Ormus, Kishmé, and Gombroon, in so strong a manner, that ships might ride in those ports, in perfect safety;—and that, even in this quarter of

their

CHAP. I. 1623-24.

their trade, the Dutch had begun their interferences, and had made large presents to the King, but without effect, to prejudice that sovereign against the English. (1)

Tyrannical proceedings of Carpentier, the Dutch Governor General, at Batavia.

If the information received, continues only a description of the events which marked the predominant influence of the Dutch at Java, and the almost exclusion of the English from a proportion of the trade, which had been stipulated to them, under the treaty of 1619, the conduct of this people at the Spice Islands will furnish a memorable example of those public vices which attach to associations, but from which, individuals can shelter themselves, and escape punishment, by dividing the odium and guilt, among numbers.

At JACCATRA, or BATAVIA, the English President and Council represented to the Court, that the Dutch Governor, Carpentier, continued to exercise his power with positive tyranny, and had reduced the English to that defenceless situation, in which they neither could resist ill-treatment from the natives, nor resent wrongs and injuries :—that the English factory had been charged with every item of expence, without either having a voice in the disposal of the money, or of the force, or freedom, or privileges, in the management of the trade :—that the Council, instead of employing the fleet of defence for the mutual protection of the trade and settlements of the two Companies, had directed it to consolidate the sovereignty of the Dutch, and to projects for ruining the English stock and shipping in the Southern seas :— that,

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Factors at Ispahan, to the Court, 23d October 1623. (No. 778.)

CHAP. I. 1623-24. that, notwithstanding the promises of the States, and of the Dutch Company, in Europe, that they would allow the English a proportion of the trade to the Spice Islands, they not only had evaded this obligation, but had almost excluded them from any share in it; and that, at Banda, they had, under the pretext of a conspiracy, executed great numbers of the natives; and at Polaroon, under like pretences, desolated the island, and left it almost without inhabitants.

Account of the Massacre at Amboyna.

It was under these circumstances, that the English President and Council at Jaccatra sent orders, in the beginning of the year 1623, to the agent and factors at Amboyna, to leave that station with their property, and to return to Batavia; and it was at this critical moment, that the Dutch Governor and Council at Amboyna commenced those proceedings, which will, for ever, remain a disgrace to the Dutch East-India Company and Nation.

This atrocity commenced by the Governor seizing on ten Japanese, in February 1622-3, and subjecting them to the most slow torture, to draw from them a confession, that they had been parties in a conspiracy, which Captain Towerson, the English Agent, had formed, to seize on the castle of Amboyna, and to expel the Dutch from the island. The unfortunate Japanese, who could not comprehend the sources of the animosity between the Europeans, sunk under their agonies, and allowed their tormentors to give any colour they chose to that fabrication, upon which they intended to inflict similar misery on Captain Towerson and the English factors:—these unhappy men were, therefore, individually exposed to the torture, and as their probity, and national

national firmness of character, induced them to refuse, amid their sufferings, the confession of a project, which existed only in the commercial jealousies and avarice of their enemies, this firmness, and this probity, was held to be evidence of guilt, which instead of mitigating the ferocity of their oppressors, encreased it, till human nature, worn out with pain, sought a momentary relief, in confessing crimes which never existed :—but, even this extremity, could not satisfy the merciless Dutch, who availed themselves of the presumed confession, which the torture alone could have forced from them, and on the 27th February 1622-23, they executed Captain Towerson, nine English factors, nine Japanese, and one Portuguese sailor.

If the names of the unfortunate English, who perished, upholding their character for probity and attachment to their country, ought to be recorded, the names of the Dutch, who perpetrated this public murder, ought to be mentioned, that posterity may for ever hold in execration, crimes, which neither policy, nor subterfuges, can forget or forgive.(1)

When

(1)—*List of Sufferers at Amboyna.*

ENGLISH.

Captain Gabriel Towerson	Agent at Amboyna.
Samuel Colson	Factor at Hitto.
Emanuel Tomson	Assistant at Amboyna.
Timothy Johnson	Assistant at Amboyna.
John Witheral	Factor at Cambello.
John Clark	Assistant at Hitto.
William Griggs	Factor at Lerica.
John Fardo	House Steward.

Abel

CHAP. I.
1623-24.
Remonstrance of the English President and Council at Batavia to the Dutch Governor General on this atrocity.

When information of this event reached Jaccatra, the English President and Council at that station presented, without effect, the strongest remonstrances to Carpentier, the Dutch General, stating the intolerable injuries the English had received from

List of Sufferers at Amboyna,—continued.

Abel Price	Surgeon.
Robert Brown	Taylor.

PORTUGUESE.

Augustin Perez.

JAPANESE.

Hitteso.	Migiel.	Queondayo.
Tsiosa.	P. Congie.	Tsabinda.
Linsa.	T. Corea.	Zanchoo.

(History of the Cruelties of the Dutch in the East-Indies, by R. Hall, 8vo. London printed, 1712).

" *A Note of all the Names off those that weare att the Councell off Amboyna, when the* 10 *Englishmen,* 9 *Japones, with one Portugall Marenar, wear beheaded,* viz.

Harman van Speult	Governor.
Isaac de Brown	Fiscall, or Judge.
Marskalke	Chiefe Merchante of the Castle.
Crayvanger .... / Taylor	Two under Merchantes off the Castle.
Peter Johnson van Zent	Chieff Merchant off Lohoe.
Raneer, *alias* Cozen ..	Chieff Merchant off Larica.
Carsborn	Merchant off the Rotterdam.
Windcopp	Merchant off the Amsterdam.
Cloacke	Merchant off the Flye Boat.
Fisher................	Merchant off the Unicorne.
Captain Vogle	A Land Captain, theare sometimes.
Captaine Newport......	Skipper off the Amsterdam.

(East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No 69).

from the Dutch Governor of Amboyna; that they had been denied permission to trade, under the terms of the treaty of 1619; that the most unreasonable taxes had been levied from them at Batavia, and that an usurped authority had been exercised over British subjects, in every port and island under the Dutch influence; and therefore desired his permission to withdraw their persons and property from Batavia, as soon as they could find a place of safety, in which they could reside, till they should receive instructions from England.

In communicating these events to the Court, the President stated, in the strongest terms, the impossibility of continuing the trade, unless the English interests should be totally separated from those of the Dutch; and suggested, that an application should be made by the Company, to the King, representing that as negotiation had been found of no use, force, alone, equal to that of the Dutch, could enable them to continue the trade; and therefore praying, that his Majesty would issue his orders, for liberating them from the intolerable yoke of the Dutch nation. It was in vain to demand the cession of Polaroon, because the inhabitants had been nearly extirpated, and the island left desolate; —in these deplorable circumstances, the only expedient they could devise was, the taking possession of the Island of Great Bessee, which had a good harbour, was favorably situated for trade, and immediately under the protection of the King of Bantam.

CHAP. I. 1623-24. The Factory at Japan withdrawn.

The President and Council, at the same time, intimated, that they had withdrawn the factory, from Japan, the servants at which had arrived at Batavia, having left a power with the Dutch chief at Firando, to recover debts due to the English, amounting to 12,821 tales.—The factories at Siam and Potania, were also withdrawn.

Project of opening a trade in the dominions of the King of Tanjore.

These misfortunes at Java, and in the Spice Islands, depressed the hopes of the President and Council, of being able to preserve for the Company, a proportion of the pepper trade, notwithstanding the stock they had received from England had been sufficient for this purpose: but this trade was impracticable, from the overbearing power of the Dutch, who were afraid, if the English again attempted trade at Bantam, it might depress their newly erected sovereignty at Batavia.

The exclusion, thus, from the pepper trade, as well as from the Spice Islands, the English President and Council at Batavia represented, would render the factory of Pullicat, on the Coromandel Coast, of no use, because spices from the Moluccas, Amboyna, and Banda, were necessary for that market; and because they would prefer accepting the offer which had been made by the King of Tanjore, to settle a factory, for Coast goods, in his country, where they could be had of better quality than at Pullicat or Masulipatam, and also a proportion of Malabar pepper, rather than to persevere in the trade of Java. In Tanjore, besides, they would be at liberty to prosecute trade, because the sovereign of this country had refused permission to the Dutch, either to establish a factory, or to fortify a station in his dominions:—availing

availing themselves, therefore, of this invitation, the President and Council had sent a ship, to endeavour to establish a factory in the dominions of Tanjore. (1) CHAP. I. 1623-24

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(1)—Letters from the President and Council at Batavia to the Court, 14th December 1623, and 23d February 1623-24, (No. 786. 770.)—— Memorial of the English President and Council to the Dutch General Carpentier, dated Batavia, 6th January 1623-24.—— Resolution for dissolving the Factory of Firando, in Japan, dated Firando, 16th December 1623. (No. 792).

1624-25.

CHAP. I.

1624-25.

Company petition the King for authority to try their servants by common, and by martial law.

THE anxiety which was naturally felt by the Company, on the receipt of every dispatch from their servants abroad, stating the proceedings of the Council of Defence to have been partial, and uniformly favorable to the Dutch, and hostile and oppressive to the English factors, who had been obstructed in providing investments, either of pepper or the finer spices, induced the Directors to carry their complaints to the King, and, by petition, to pray for protection and redress.

The object of the petition was, that powers might be given to the Company, to authorize their commanders and agents to try their servants, by common and martial law. In compliance with this request, the King granted to them this authority, on the principle, that the exercise of it might do away the reciprocal complaints of the Dutch and English Companies against each other, and that, on the basis of judicial evidence and decisions, the authenticity of which could not be questioned, his Majesty might be enabled to frame remonstrances to the States General, and to demand their interference, and orders to the servants of the Dutch East-India Company, not only to abstain from future acts of injustice and oppression, towards the servants of the London East-India Company, but to grant redress

redress of grievances, and compensation for losses, the existence of which had been verified by legal process. (1)

CHAP. I.
1624-25.

Effect of this authority on the Company's equipments.

This encouragement accounts for the equipment, in the year 1624-25, being more considerable than it otherwise would have been, because, without this power, the trade from Java, or the Spice Islands, would probably have been suspended. It can, however, only be collected from the Company's records, that the equipments of this year consisted of five ships; but no account remains of the amount of stock, or exports in goods. (2)

Memorial of Sir Robert Shirley, for a treaty between England and Persia.

In tracing the origin of the attempts to open a trade between Surat and Persia, in the year 1616-17, we found that the Agents had experienced opposition from Sir Robert Shirley, who had formed connexions at Ispahan, but who, though an Englishman, had been employed by the King of Persia, to conclude a commercial treaty with the King of Spain; and, in the sequel, it has been discovered, that the principal difficulties the Company had to overcome, arose from their being called upon by the King of Persia, to assist his forces, with their ships, in expelling the Portuguese from Ormus, and clearing the Gulf of Persia of their fleets.

In 1624-25, Sir Robert Shirley returned to England, and presented a memorial to the King and Council, in which he stated, that a profitable trade in silk might be opened between England and Persia, and that the Indian produce, which hitherto

(1)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xviii, page 450.

(2)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked " Detached Accounts," No. 10.

CHAP. I. 1624-25. hitherto had been brought into Persia, had been carried into the Turkish dominions, notwithstanding the state of warfare in which the two countries had been constantly placed;—that, besides, part of this produce, as well as the Persian silks, had either been purchased or captured, by the Portuguese;—events which made the court of Persia disposed to enter into a commercial treaty with England.

To render a treaty of this kind efficient, Sir Robert Shirley advised, that the Company's ships should each carry out materials, for constructing armed vessels, to enable the Persians to protect their own trade in the Gulf, and also, that the Company should be obliged to furnish tonnage, to bring the silks belonging to Persian merchants to the English market, subjecting the sales of them to the payment of English duties and customs only; and should the sales of such goods not be practicable in England, that the Persian merchants might be allowed to hire vessels, and to re-export their goods to other markets, without paying any new duties; and concluded, that this trade would yield an annual revenue to the Crown, of £500,000.

Objections of the Company to Sir Robert Shirley's project.

This memorial of Sir Robert Shirley was referred to the Directors of the East-India Company, and the objections which they offered are interesting, as they mark the difference between the reasonings of a political theorist, and the good sense of a practical merchant, and, in substance, were,—that the sending frames for vessels, to be constructed in the Persian Gulf, could not be attempted, without incurring a large expenditure, and, from the shifting character of the Persian government, creating

creating a force, that might be employed, in future, against the English trade :—that, therefore, if the Persians were to receive naval support from the English, that support could be best given (as in the case of the capture of Ormus) by the Company's ships :—that the granting credit to the Persian merchants would be hazardous, as it could not be covered by any security from them :—that the quantity of silk, supposed to be produced in Persia, was, by no means, what had been represented ; but, admitting it to be as great as Sir Robert Shirley had stated, one-third of it was manufactured in the country, and the remainder sent to various markets :—that the wild idea, of furnishing tonnage for the Persian merchants to bring their silk to England for sale, and the still wilder idea, of allowing them to hire vessels to carry it to other markets, was impracticable in trade, because those merchants had neither stock nor credit, on which such a re-exportation could be carried on :—and, therefore, that instead of the large sum which had been asserted the Crown would receive, as revenue, one-eleventh part of it could never be realized. (1)

Company petition the King for redress for the massacre at Amboyna, and appointment of a Committee of the Privy Council to investigate the business.

The Company, about the beginning of August 1624, received positive information of the massacre of their servants at Amboyna, and immediately made application to His Majesty, to interpose his authority with the States, that redress might be obtained, and that the persons who had been the guilty instruments in this disgraceful transaction, might be punished.

A memorial

(1)—Letters from Sir Robert Shirley to the King and Council, in 1624, and Answer of the East-India Company to his Propositions, dated 20th August 1624, (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked No. 10 A).

CHAP. I. 1624-25.

A memorial to this effect, was, in consequence, presented to the States General, by the English Ambassador at the Hague, on the 17th August 1624:—a Committee was also appointed in September 1624, consisting of the Lord President, the Lord Steward, the Earl Marshal, the Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Calvert, Mr. Secretary Conway, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to take into consideration the complaint of the East-India Company, and to examine such of the sufferers as had escaped from Amboyna, and had arrived in England. This Committee reported, that this breach of the law of nations, and of the treaty subsisting between the King, and the States, had proceeded from the fixed plan which the Dutch had adopted, of expelling the English from the Spice Islands, and not from any conspiracy or combination by the King's subjects, with the natives at Amboyna; and, therefore, offered it as their advice to the King, to take strong measures, for obtaining from the Dutch such a compensation, as should be consistent with his justice, and his honor, and to direct, that an order should be issued to the Lord High Admiral, to send out a fleet, to seize the Dutch outward and homeward-bound East-India Ships, and to detain them in England, till reparation should be made, care being taken, in this service, that the ships and their cargoes should be safely kept, and their crews properly treated. An order of Council, to this effect, was accordingly issued to the Duke of Buckingham, on the 30th September 1624.

Negotiations between the King and the

The application to Sir Dudley Carleton, the English Ambassador at the Hague, and the spirited measures with which it

it was followed by the King, or the order for detaining the Dutch East-India ships, did not procure, from the States, that immediate attention, or redress, which the urgency of the case required, and which, indeed, was necessary, because the Court of Directors could not, under these circumstances, frame such instructions to the commanders of their ships, or to their agents abroad, as were requisite, before the outward-bound ships could proceed on their voyage.

CHAP. I. 1624-25. States General, on the same subject.

On the 12th November 1624, the Directors addressed a letter to Secretary Conway, requesting that they might be allowed to send Mr. Young, one of their number, as a special messenger to the Hague, and that he might be vested with the same powers, as if he had come from the King, to attend on the Ambassador, and to urge his immediate interference with the States, to issue their orders for reparation.

The King complied with this request, and issued an additional order, dated 6th December 1624, through Secretary Conway, to the Attorney General, to prepare a commission for the London East-India Company, authorizing them to build forts in the East-Indies, for the security of their trade, conformably to the terms of the treaty of 1619.

This measure brought a general, though not a satisfactory answer from the States; in substance, that they would send orders to their Governor General in the Indies, to permit the English Company's servants to retire, with their property and shipping, from any of the Dutch settlements, without exacting any duties from them;—that in all disputes, an appeal should be made to

CHAP. I. 1624-25. the Council of Defence, and if the parties should be dissatisfied with its decision, the case should be referred to the States and to the King, but reserving to the Dutch "the administration "of politic government, and particular jurisdiction, both civil "and criminal, in all such places as owe acknowledgement to "the Dutch;"— and that the English might build forts, for the protection of their trade, provided such forts should be situated at the distance of thirty English miles from the Dutch forts, and that they should not trench on their jurisdiction; reserving to the Dutch, the exclusive right to the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboyna.

This answer of the States marked their determination to retain their exclusive sovereignty, and to evade ordering that redress to the sufferers at Amboyna, which had been the immediate source of the application, and of the coercive measures which the King had adopted.

From the measures to which it had been found expedient to resort, it appears, that the King and Council, and the Company, were equally dissatisfied with this general and evasive answer. The Company, however, agreed to the first article, or that their servants might retire from the Dutch settlements, but stated, that the second and third articles were so ambiguous, in their reservations, that they left the Dutch General at liberty to repeat similar outrages with those of which the complaint had been made; they therefore held, that remitting the case to the consideration and decision of the Council of Defence, was, in fact, impowering the Dutch to review and vindicate their own unjust proceedings,

and

and equivalent to denying redress of any kind;—that the case required to be tried in Europe, by Commissioners, authorized by the two nations, more particularly as Van Coens, the Dutch Governor General, in whom the evasions of the treaty of 1619 had originated, as his successor had only followed up his measures, was in Holland, and that Marskalk, one of the judges and perpetrators of the massacre of Amboyna, was at large, at Amsterdam.

CHAP. I. 1624-25.

State of the public feeling, and that of the Company.

The state of the public mind in England, at this juncture, may be judged of, from an alarm which the Dutch merchants, resident in London, took, at the numerous publications which were disseminated, explaining the cruelties which the English had experienced in the East-Indies, particularly the massacre at Amboyna, which, they stated, might expose them to the rage of the people, already threatening their safety:—in particular, they represented, that a picture had been drawn of the massacre at Amboyna, which was calculated to inflame the public mind, and to bring on them its vengeance, they therefore applied to the Privy Council, for protection from the danger to which they were exposed. The Directors of the East-India Company appeared before the Council, and stated, that with respect to the publications, in general, they had no control over them, but with regard to the picture, they acknowledged it was painted by their order, to be preserved in their House, as a perpetual memorial of Dutch cruelty and treachery. (1)

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These

(1)—Memorial presented by Sir Dudley Carleton to the States, relative to the business of Amboyna, the 17th August 1624.—— Minute of Council, relative to Reprizals on the Dutch

CHAP. I.
1624-25.

Death of King James I.

These measures of King James, during the last months of his reign (for he died on the 27th March 1625), failed in their effects. It is true, he wished to give protection to his subjects, and, on this occasion, manifested an energy, which could not have been expected from the pacific system which he had observed, from his accession; but his varying policy with the European powers, had taught each of them to consider England as of less weight in that balance of power, which Queen Elizabeth had established, and the States General, in a particular manner, to throw off their dependance on the Crown of England, of which the Queen had been the source.

On this occasion, the spirit of the English nation would have seconded a war against the Dutch, but that cold people knew, that, by evasions, they could blunt the momentary rage of the English Court, and shun fulfilling, not only the terms of the treaty of 1619, but evade granting of redress, or giving any compensation for injuries, which they neither would have dared to commit, nor ventured to excuse, in the preceding reign.

The Presidency of Surat propose to remove to

The situation of the Company's servants abroad, at the time when these ineffectual means were resorted to, in Europe, will

Dutch Ships, September 1624.—— Order of Council to the Duke of Buckingham, 30th September 1624.—— Letter from the Company to Sir Edward Conway, 12th November 1624.—— Letter from Sir Edward Conway to the Attorney General, 6th December 1624.—— The States General's Answer to the three Articles, and the Company's Reply thereto, December 1624.—— Letters from the Company to Sir Dudley Carleton, 8th and 25th January, and 19th February 1624-5. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 39, 40, 41, 42, 43.)

will discover, that their efforts on the West Coast of India, and in Persia, were still counteracted by the Dutch, who were endeavouring to participate in the trade of both, and to exclude the London Company from that share of either, which, with so much expence, they had been endeavouring to acquire.

CHAP. I. 1624-25.

Dabul, on account of the oppressions of the Governor.

In the preceding season, the depredations which the Dutch ships had committed on the coasts of the Guzzerat, had exposed the Company's servants, at Surat, to imprisonment, and their property to seizure, and it was not till after seven months imprisonment, that they were liberated, or permitted to proceed with their sales and investments. Under such circumstances, the Agent and Council at Surat were attempting to find a more favorable situation, to which they might remove the centre of their trade, and were projecting to fix it at Dabul, because the inhabitants of this place had made the most friendly offers of accommodation and protection, if the English would remove to that port. This project was temporary only, for the ships of the season were dispatched from Surat to Europe, in the usual manner. (1)

Trade in Persia depressed by the native merchants.

The trade between Surat and Persia, this season, varied in its aspects. During the first months of it, though the Company's agents proceeded under the Phirmaunds which had been obtained, the prices demanded for silk, and other Persian articles, were so high, and the sales of English cloth and tin, so inconsiderable, that, on consultation, they were disposed to sell off

(1)—Letters from the Agent and Council at Surat to the Court, 15th November 1624, and 14th February 1624-25. (Nos. 813 and 799).

CHAP. I. 1624-25. off their goods, horses, household furniture, &c., and to wind up their affairs.

As the season advanced, it was resolved, as a last expedient, to apply to the King of Persia, to interpose his authority with his merchants, to prohibit those extortions. This request was refused, and it was not till the English took measures for retiring from the trade, that the Persian ministers consented to restrict the King's merchants in their demands; for though they could not oblige them to lower the prices, the King consented to make the English a present of two loads of silk, out of every hundred, and to purchase from them whatever quantity of cloth, or tin, they might import. On this concession the Agent and Council at Ispahan resolved to persevere in the Persian trade, till the pleasure of the Court of Directors should be known:—if their instructions, in the following season, should order the trade to be continued, it would be necessary, that a considerable stock should be furnished, and intelligent factors sent to manage the business. Towards the close of the season, Mr. Kerridge, one of the chief factors at Surat, stated that an agreement between the Khan of Shiras and Captain Weddel had been effected, by which the Company had a right to one-half of the customs at Gombroon; and that though the factor at this port, had received two hundred and twenty-five Tomands, on that account, the trade to it must soon become inconsiderable; unless, therefore, an agent of rank should be sent by the King of England, with letters and suitable presents to the King of Persia, and a strong force employed, to second

second his application, and to protect the trade from the Portuguese cruizers, it must decline.

CHAP. I.
1624-25.

An agent sent from Surat to Gombroon, to report on the practicability of continuing the Persian trade.

It was in this situation of affairs, and awaiting instructions from England, that the Agent and Council at Surat granted a commission to Mr. Kerridge, and other principal servants of the Company, to proceed to Gombroon, to examine and report on the expediency, either of re-settling, or of dissolving the Persian trade; who reported, that, in consideration of the extensive privileges which the King of Persia had granted to the English, and their being allowed to settle at Gombroon, it would be for the interest of the Company to persevere in the Persian trade. (1)

Company's servants retire from Batavia, to the Island of Lagundy.

At the close of the former season, we traced the circumstances in which the English were placed, after a knowledge of the massacre at Amboyna had reached JACCATRA, or that the English President and Council, at that place, had petitioned Carpentier, the Dutch General, for permission to retire, as soon as they could find any retreat, in which their persons and property might be in safety. Under their first agitation, they thought of settling on the Island of Great Bessee, protected by the King of Bantam; but this expedient was soon abandoned, as they sent the ship Charles, Captain Swan, to take possession of some island in the Straits of Sunda, at which, it was hoped, they might get a proportion of the finer spices, to form a part of their

(1)—Letter from the Agent at Ispahan to the Court, 28th August 1624. (No. 809). —— Consultations of Mr. Kerridge, and other Commissioners, at Gombroon, 1st January 1624-25. (No. 798).—— Letters from Surat to the Court, 15th November 1624, and 14th February 1624-25. (No. 813, 799).

CHAP. I. 1624-25. their investments for Europe. Captain Swan landed on the ISLAND OF LAGUNDY, to which he gave the name of PRINCE CHARLES'S ISLAND, and in the subsequent season, we shall find, that this station was the retreat to which the English factors at Jaccatra retired, till they should receive orders from Europe.

Under such complicated misfortunes, the English factors at Batavia had endeavored to form a trade on the Coromandel Coast, in expectation of receiving pepper, as well as Coast cloths; but at Tanjore, where they projected an establishment, they were opposed by a new European rival (the Danes), who, for the first time, appeared to have become adventurers in the East-India Trade. (1)

(1)—Proclamation of Captain Swan, on taking possession of an Island in the Straits of Sunda, 29th July 1624. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked F 1, unbound, page 121).—— Letter from the Agent and Council of Surat to the Court, 14th February 1624-25. (No. 799).

1625-26.

CHAP. I. 1625-26.

The measures for obtaining redress from the Dutch, suspended during the first year of King Charles I.

The East-India Company, at the close of the preceding season, were employed in soliciting redress, by the interposition of the Royal authority, with the States General, not only for the violation of the conditions in the treaty of 1619, but reparation for the losses they had experienced at Amboyna, and the punishment of the persons who had been guilty of the massacre. The death of King James, at this crisis, prepares us to look for the commercial and political measures of the Company, at the accession of King Charles I.

If we may judge from the equipments of the season 1625-26, which consisted of six ships,(1) we must presume, either that the Company had determined to persevere in maintaining their proportion of the trade, or that these vessels were intended to withdraw their servants and property from it; but there remains no evidence, to ascertain the amount of the stock or goods, which these ships were to carry out, to be exchanged for Eastern produce.

It is probable, that on the accession of King Charles I., the measures which had been adopted, before the death of the late King, for obtaining redress from the Dutch, were, for a time, suspended; as there is no evidence of the Court of Directors

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked "Detached Accounts," No. 10.

CHAP. I. 1625-26. Directors having made applications to the Crown, or having had any communication with the English Ambassador at the Hague.

This situation of the Company's affairs may be accounted for, by the depressed state of the public revenue, at the accession of Charles, who was involved in a war with Spain and the Emperor, and borne down by large debts of King James, which he had not the means of discharging, and though the factions were, as yet, concealing their projects, they were watching opportunities, in Parliament, to assert them.

Without resources, and yet under engagements with foreign princes, the young monarch had not the means of assisting the States General, and, of course, had not that influence with them, which could induce them to grant the redress which James had demanded, and, by warlike preparations, was seeking to enforce :—the Company's ships of this season, therefore, sailed under general instructions ; and with a notice to their servants, that they would renew their applications to the Crown, as soon as the new government should take a decided character.

The Presidency of Surat postpone their plan of retiring to Dabul.

We have to continue the detail of the Foreign transactions of the Company, while the factories were unacquainted with the events which had taken place in England, and could act only under the information, that vigorous measures had been taken for their future protection.

Though

Though the factors at SURAT, and PERSIA, had hesitated, whether they should continue the seat of trade at the former port, or remove it to Dabul, and whether it would be expedient, to persevere in carrying on the trade with Persia, they had, on both subjects, resolved to await instructions from Europe, and, under this determination, remained at Surat, during the season 1625-26.

The alarm of farther opposition from the Dutch had increased, from an event calculated to make a deep impression on the English, or the appointment, by the Council of Defence, of Harman Van Speult, the man who had conducted the massacre at Amboyna, to be the Dutch General at Surat, leaving only to the English factory at Batavia, the unavailing expedient of protesting against an appointment, from which they anticipated the most atrocious proceedings.

The Company's servants abandon Lagundy, and return to Batavia.

The English President and Council at Batavia, after the massacre at Amboyna, and the continuation of the restraints under which the English trade had been placed, not only at Batavia, but wherever it had the least connexion with the trade of the Dutch, determined to retire to some station, where their persons and property might be in safety, till they should be reinforced with ships and men, sufficient to preserve them from Dutch aggression. With this object, the ship Charles had left Batavia, with the President, Council, and Factors, and had taken possession of THE ISLAND OF LAGUNDY, in the name of the King, and given to it the name of Prince Charles's Island. Unfortunately, this island, from its un-

 healthiness

CHAP. I. 1625-26. healthiness, added sickness to the other calamities they had experienced, which obliged them to abandon it, on the 31st May 1625, and to return to Batavia, having no less than one hundred and twenty sick, out of two hundred and fifty, and not a sufficient crew to enable them to dispatch a single ship to any of the English factories.

The King of Bantam offers his protection.

At BANTAM, though the Pangran, or King, had offered the English factors every encouragement to re-assume their trade, they were unable, from want of men and supplies of every kind, to avail themselves of this expedient, and though the Dutch (as if to make a shew of reparation for the injuries and losses, which they were satisfied would be resented in Europe) had given their assistance to the English, on their retiring from Lagundy, the President and Council recommended the necessity of separating altogether from them, for though the Company might have less trade, their expences, also, would diminish in proportion, and their servants and property enjoy greater security.

The Dutch engross the trade to Acheen and Jambee.

In SUMATRA, the Dutch had been equally active in their attempts to establish an exclusive trade, still sheltering themselves under the authority of the Council of Defence :—with such powers, they became parties in the wars between the Kings of Acheen and Jambee, against which the English factors could only protest.

The English President and Council at Batavia, therefore, submitted to the Court, to direct their attention to the trade at Surat, and on the Coromandel Coast, particularly the latter; and

and, at the close of the season, dispatched a vessel to Masulipatam, with a cargo of cloves, sandal-wood, and money, estimated at thirty-four thousand rials, explaining, that though the trade at that port had declined, in consequence of the native Governor having taken advantage of the disputes between the Dutch and the English, and extorted money from both, yet that, at this port, and at Surat, half the pepper and spices of India might be sold, in exchange for Surat and Coast cloths. (1)

The English President and Council at Batavia dispatch one of their servants to fix a factory at Armagon, on the Coromandel Coast.

In the expectation that the Court would approve of the plan of fixing a trade on the Coromandel Coast, the English Agents at Batavia had, in addition to the factory at Masulipatam, fixed on a station at ARMAGON, situated, according to the ancient Dutch charts, between Nellore and Pullicat, from which last place they had been obliged to retire, on account of the continued oppressions of the Dutch. Having obtained a piece of ground from the Naig, or Chief of the district, the English erected a factory at Armagon, in February 1625-26, and the Agent applied to the English President and Council at Batavia, for stock, to purchase plain and flowered Coast cloths, which could be exchanged for pepper, and the finer spices, or could be sent to Europe, for the home sales;—but even at this station, the factors reported that the Dutch persecution had followed them, though they had got a grant for liberty of trade, on condition of paying one per cent. duty on goods imported, and three per cent. on exports.

It

(1)—Letters from the President and Council at Batavia to the Court, 3d August and 13th October 1625, and 25th February 1625-26.

CHAP. I. 1625-26.

It was the intention of Mr. Johnson, the chief factor at Armagon, to make this station a subordinate agency to Masulipatam, who reported, that to carry on the trade with advantage, a proportion of pepper, and the finer spices, would be requisite, to facilitate the purchase of piece goods, and that it would be proper to strengthen the factory, by a slight fortification, defended by a proportion of ordnance, to protect the Company's property, and the inhabitants, against the attacks of the Naig, who had repeatedly plundered it; and against the Dutch, who though they avoided open hostilities, had, by presents, excited the jealousies of this Chief against the English, and exposed the new establishment to risks and dangers, which might hazard its existence. (1)

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked B. page 90 to 146.

1626-27.

CHAP. I.
1626-27.

The equipments considerable, from the Company's expectation of protection from the Crown.

THOUGH the disputes, in 1626, between the King and the Parliament, were calculated to depress his influence with the powers of Europe, and particularly with the States General, from whom alone redress could have been obtained, for the grievances of which the London Company complained, it appears, from the magnitude of the equipments of this season (1626-27), that the Court of Directors looked forward to support, and that they were determined to continue their efforts to preserve their proportion of the East-India trade. The equipments consisted of seven large ships; (1) but (as in the two preceding seasons) neither the amount of the stock, nor the destinations of those vessels, can be ascertained:—it may, however, be presumed, that though their applications for redress, from the States General, had hitherto been without effect, they were determined to persevere in the trade, because, from it alone, they could expect returns for the large stock which the Adventurers had embarked.

Company erect powder-mills.

The Company, at this period, instead of depending entirely upon their sales, had been engaged in the manufacture of gunpowder, as an expedient for adding to their profits; and had established powder-mills in the county of Surry:—an application had been made to the King, by the inhabitants in the vicinity, to

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked D. P. No. 129.

CHAP. I. 1626-27. to have those mills removed, and an order had accordingly been issued for their demolition :—the Court, in this season, petitioned the King for permission to erect new powder-mills, in the counties of Kent and Sussex, in situations to which the like objections could not be made; and stated, that this manufacture was necessary, to enable them to bring into the market the stock of saltpetre in store, or to dispose of the quantity of that article expected from India. (1)

Sir Robert Shirley demands a compensation from the Company, which is refused.

If the answer of the Company to Sir Robert Shirley, in 1624, had set aside his wild projects in that season, he re-appeared in this, and, assuming the character of Ambassador from the King of Persia, made application to the King and Council, to order the East-India Company to pay him £2000, as a compensation for his exertions, in endeavouring to establish a trade between Persia and England. The Directors objected to this demand, on the ground that, instead of services, the Company had only experienced injuries from Sir Robert Shirley; and that, as they had been obliged to contract so large a debt as £200,000, their paramount duty was, in the first instance, to liquidate this debt, that they might raise the price of the stock, which had sunk so low as eighty per cent.

On this refusal, Sir Robert Shirley requested permission of the Privy Council to return to Persia, stating that, in that country he would discharge his duty to his new sovereign, the King of

(1)—Petition to the East-India Company, for leave to erect Powder-mills in Kent and Sussex, 16th July 1626. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 73).

of Persia, without forgetting his allegiance to his natural sovereign, the King of England. (1)

CHAP. I. 1626-27.

Unsuccessful attempt of the English and Dutch at Surat, to surprize Mocha and Bombay:

The apprehensions which the Presidency at Surat had entertained, on the appointment of the infamous Harman Van Speult, to be the Dutch General at SURAT, were happily removed, in this season, by the death of that person. Among other plans which Van Speult had projected, was an expedition against the Portuguese, in the Red Sea, and as they were continually acting against the English, he persuaded, or rather, by threats, obliged the Presidency, to co-operate with him, in this expedition. The squadron had sailed from Surat, and reached Mocha, at which Van Speult died, after losing, off that port, the largest of the Dutch ships, mounting forty-four guns. His successor, instead of supporting the English against the Portuguese, refused them his assistance to carry the Court's orders into execution, of forming an establishment on the Island of Bombaya, though the President proposed, that if this island should be reduced, it should be equally divided between the Dutch and the English, and fortified, to make it a station independent of the native powers.

This incident opens the first view of the plan of the English to form an establishment on an island, which was subsequently

(1)—Reasons why the Company will not advance £2000 to Sir Robert Shirley, 28th March 1626.—— Letter from Sir Robert Shirley to the Privy Council (original) 26th July 1626. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, Nos. 71 and 74).

CHAP. I. 1626-27. subsequently transferred to them by Portugal; the factors at Surat, as well as the Court, having found from experience, that forts, with proper guards to them, constituted the only security which could be relied on, either for the Company's property, or for the permanency of their trade. This expedient was the more necessary, from the approaches of a civil war between the Emperor's sons, for the succession, which induced the Presidency to withdraw the agencies from Ahmedabad and Broach, and again to entertain the project of removing the seat of trade from Dabul, at which place, profitable exchanges might be made of pepper and spices, for Malabar and Coromandel cloths, and a supply of those articles procured for the Persian trade.

It does not appear to have been practicable for the English, at this juncture, either to erect a fortress at Ormus, or to get an independent hold at Muscat, of which the Portuguese had become possessed. At Surat, however, the factors had made considerable purchases, and had got in store three thousand maunds of saltpetre from Agra, to become part of the investment for the Europe ships, on their arrival. (1)

Critical situation of the Company's trade in Persia.

The situation of the Company's affairs in PERSIA, in this year, had been rather precarious:—the Shah, with his army, had been employed in defending Bagdat, which was besieged by the Turks, and the Dutch agents had obtained a grant for a proportion of the silk trade, on terms rather more favorable than those which had been given to the English. This event induced the

(1)—Letter from the President and Council at Surat to the Court, 14th December 1626. (No. 843).

the Agents at Ispahan to address a letter to the King, and to make a considerable present to one of the chief officers, for his influence, to get the contract with the English placed on the same terms as that with the Dutch, by representing that though the English had, for years, been exposed to the trouble of opening the Persian trade by sea, to the Europeans, the Dutch were deriving the whole benefit. Under these circumstances, the Agents at Ispahan assured the Court, that, conformably to their instructions, they would continue the trade in Persia; but that it would be necessary to send them large supplies of cloth and tin, from England, to enable them to counteract the Dutch, in the market. In this year, the Company received three hundred Tomands, or £900, as their moiety of the customs at Gombroon. (1)

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Council at Ispahan to the Court, 19th May and 14th June 1626.

1627-28.

CHAP. I.
1627-28.

Company petition the King for his interposition with the States General.

The Company's affairs in England, in the season 1627-28, were necessarily affected, by the delays of the States General in granting redress for the losses sustained at Amboyna, and in bringing the perpetrators of the massacre to justice. The King, at this juncture, not having been able to obtain supplies from his Parliament, unfortunately for himself, had recourse to the expedients of loans and ship-money; but he had not been inattentive to the complaints of the East-India Company, who, by memorial, at this time, stated, that their Agents at Jaccatra had not only been refused their proportion of the pepper and spice trade, but even necessary provisions; that they had been obliged to resort to the hazardous expedient of retiring to Lagundy or Prince Charles's Island, the unhealthiness of which had compelled them to return to Batavia; and that, now, their circumstances had become so desperate, that unless the King interposed his authority with the States, their factors would be compelled to relinquish this part of the East-India trade altogether.[1]

In

(1)—Memorial of the East-India Company to King Charles I. 1628. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, No. 79-1.)

CHAP. I.
1627-28.
Three Dutch homeward-bound ships detained at Portsmouth, till redress should be obtained.

In the last year of the reign of King James, the delays of the States General, in granting redress to the sufferers at Amboyna, had been anticipated, and events now proved, that this opinion was well founded :—this Sovereign had ordered the Lord High Admiral to intercept the Dutch East-India ships, and to bring them into an English port, to be detained till redress should be given. In this year three large Dutch East-Indiamen, from Surat, had put into Portsmouth, where they were detained till orders were sent to Sir Isaac Wake, the King's Ambassador at the Hague, to explain the reason of this seizure, and to require redress; letters, also, were written by Lord Conway, Secretary of State, to the Dutch commander, explaining the cause of the detention, and promising, not only protection to himself, his officers, and crews, but security to the cargoes, till the event of the remonstrance to the States should be known :—the Dutch officer however, either impatient under the restraint, or secretly informed of the evasions which the States intended to practice, attempted to elude this embargo, and to put to sea with his ships. This produced a second letter from Lord Conway, explaining, that should a war between the two countries be the consequence of this rashness, and force be necessary, he must be made responsible. The English Ambassador, agreeably to this resolution, applied to the States, and declared the King's intentions to be friendly towards them, but that, in duty to his subjects, he had been compelled to detain the ships, to obtain that redress, which, for years, he had in vain solicited.

These

CHAP. I.
1627-28.
Company's equipments and stock this season, on a limited scale.

These public events, account for the Company's equipment, for the season 1627-28, being on a reduced scale, consisting only of two ships and a pinnace. The Court of Directors were sensible, that so small a fleet would give an opportunity to their enemies in England, to impress the public with an opinion, that the trade was either on the decline, or that the Company were not conducting it, in a manner calculated to preserve it, and therefore assigned their reasons for this small equipment to be, that they had numerous vessels in India, which, from the obstructions they had experienced, from the Dutch, as well as from the state of their funds, had been unemployed in those seas;—that, though the ships were few, the stock intended to be sent on them, would be large, and would amount, in money and goods, to between £60,000 and £70,000;—and that from these sums, they hoped to freight all their ships home, richly laden, next season.(1)

Report of the English President and Council at

Though, in 1627-28, no direct communications from SURAT, PERSIA, or MASULIPATAM, appear to have been received by

(1)—Letters from Lord Conway to the Dutch Commander at Portsmouth, 19th and 22d September 1627.——Letter from Lord Conway to Sir Isaac Wake, Ambassador at the Hague, 21st October 1627. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, Nos. 76 and 77). ——Declaration relative to the three Dutch ships arrested at Portsmouth, (No. 131).——Reasons why the East-India Company do not send as many Ships this year to India, as formerly, January 1627-28. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 75.)—— MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked D. P., No. 129.

Batavia, on the expedients proposed for re-establishing the Southern trade.

by the Court, the President and Council of BATAVIA represented the importance of increasing the exchanges on both coasts of the Peninsula of India, as the only effectual method of recovering a proportion of the pepper and spice trade. This opinion they communicated in precise terms, and recommended, that by every fleet for Surat, money, to the amount of a hundred thousand rials, should be sent, to be invested in Surat cloths, for Java and the Southern markets, and three hundred thousand rials, annually, as stock, to Masulipatam and the Coromandel Coast, to be invested in cloths, for the same destination, because such cloths could be sold with advantage at all the Southern stations, and at Batavia, alone, might be invested in pepper and spices, which would yield a profit of six hundred thousand rials.

This Presidency next reported the continued measures of the Dutch to ruin the Company's trade in Java and Sumatra, and to exclude them from exchanges in all the Southern stations (China, Cambodia, Siam, and Japan);—that, in Batavia, they had received the Court's instructions to attempt the revival of the English trade at Bantam, and though its King had invited them to return, they had not sufficient stock, at this time, to re-commence the trade;—that, however, they had held several conferences with the Dutch General, Carpentier, and their Fiscal, Specx, on the subject, but could only obtain evasive answers from them;—that the Dutch fleet and forces were besieging Bantam, and yet they were determined to send three ships to this port, and

CHAP. I. 1627-28. and should the Dutch obstruct their landing, or attempting the trade, they proposed to protest for damages, and to order the ships to leave the port in ballast;—that Van Coens, the author of all their late sufferings, was preparing to return to Europe, and had, at a visit of ceremony which he paid to the English President and Council on his departure, advised them not to attempt the trade at Bantam, as it could only bring on fresh troubles between the two nations. Connected with this event, the Dutch historians afford an evidence, which strongly marks the decided resolution of the States General, and of the Dutch East-India Company, to wave, not only granting redress to the sufferers at Amboyna, but, in general, compensation to the English, for the series of oppressions they had endured; for they sent out, a second time, Van Coens, to be the Dutch Governor General, though, from the preceding evidence in Europe, and in the Indies, it had been proved, that Carpentier was only the active promoter of that system, which Van Coens had devised, for consolidating the Dutch sovereignty and monopoly in the Indies, and excluding the English from any participation in the trade, notwithstanding their right had been established, by the treaty of 1619.[1]

These general proceedings of the Dutch affected the minds of the English President and his Council to so great a degree, that, notwithstanding their obedience to the Court's orders, to attempt the trade at Bantam, and the great mortality which had driven them from Prince Charles's Island, they again formed the plan of

(1)—Valentyn Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien, vol. iv, pages 270, 277, and 367.

of returning, and fixing on some station on the main land of Lagundy, which, from observation, they had discovered might be fortified at a small expence, as the island afforded the finest stone, for building houses and fortifications, of any country in India. This plan, however, they would only adopt, if they failed in the attempt to revive the trade of Bantam; but, at either of those stations, they intended to open a trade with Maccassar, to the Chief of which, they had delivered King Charles's letter, which had been honorably received. They also intended again to attempt a trade to Japan, and requested a letter from the King to the Emperor, asking his protection; and also a trade with China, though they anticipated difficulties from the jealousy of that people; and it would be worth an experiment, again to try the practicability of a trade to Siam, Cambodia, and Pegu, because the commodities of those countries would facilitate the project of a trade to Japan.(1)

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(1)—General Letters from the English President and Council at Batavia to the Court, 19th July and 28th October 1627. (Nos. 846, 850).

1628-29.

CHAP. I.
1628-29.
Company petition the House of Commons for redress from the Dutch.

If the circumstances in which Charles was placed, in the two first years of his reign, tended to lower his influence with the European powers, particularly with the States General, from whom, alone, compensation for injuries, or redress of grievances, could be expected, or obtained, for the London East-India Company, his situation, in the year 1628-29, became more embarrassing. The war with Spain had been unfortunate; the disputes with France not less so; the resources, obtained by the Crown, from loans, had failed, and a Parliament had been summoned:—this assembly, instead of granting supplies, employed itself, as a previous step, in framing a Petition of Rights, which, though it passed both houses, was evaded by the King, and the Parliament was prorogued.

These public events will account, in some degree, for the proceedings of the London East-India Company, who despairing of obtaining redress from the States General, brought their grievances under the consideration of the House of Commons:—to this expedient they were also led, by the popular prejudices against monopolies which, at this time, prevailed.

The Private Traders, or Interlopers, had availed themselves of the opportunity when dangerous political questions were agitating

tating, to mask their projects, under the specious pretext of freedom of trade, and sought, in the spirit of party, the means of forwarding claims, which they were not entitled to assert, either by their property, as individuals, or by any real advantages which their scheme could bring to the nation. Under such difficulties in obtaining redress from the Dutch, and depressed by internal opponents, the Company presented a memorial to the House of Commons, stating, that the failure of the spice trade, and the difficulties which they had experienced, in opening a trade in piece goods, on the Coromandel Coast, had almost driven them from their factories;—that though these difficulties had partly arisen from the native powers, they were principally owing to the opposition of the Dutch, whose oppressions they were experiencing in every country within their limits;—that the advantages of the East-India trade to the realm, had been great, the Company having employed large sums to establish this branch of the British commerce;—that their ships carried ten thousand tons, and employed two thousand five hundred seamen;—that the value of their exports of British staples (woollen, tin, &c.) had not only been an encouragement to the useful arts, but to agriculture;—that their imports of Eastern produce (spices, silks, &c.) had lowered the prices of those articles in the home market, and had encouraged English merchandize, and furnished assortments for cargoes to the Mediterranean, and to the East-land or Russia trade.

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This memorial, founded on facts, would probably have made an impression on the House of Commons, had not the

CHAP. I. 1628-29. events referred to, and the prorogation of Parliament, prevented the subject from being taken into consideration. (1)

The King interposes with the States General, in favor of the Company.

Had Charles been in more prosperous circumstances, than those in which his disputes with his Parliament had placed him, it is not improbable, that this application of the London Company to the House of Commons would have involved them in disputes with the Crown, from which all their grants, from their establishment, had issued; yet the King's authority was exerted to obtain redress from the States, and no notice taken of the Company's application to the House of Commons, or of the Dutch Indiamen being detained, to guaranty the redress the King had solicited.

The States propose the London Company should send an agent to Holland, to be present at their judicial proceedings.

Of this resolution of the King, the States General appear to have been sensible, from their offering a laboured defence of the delays which had occurred, in bringing to justice the persons who had been accused of the massacre at Amboyna; in which they urged, that the detention of the ships would retard, rather than accelerate, their decision ;—that they relied upon the treaties of friendship between the King and the States, and, on the basis of them, had appointed judges,* to take cognizance of the business of Amboyna, even before the parties had returned to Europe, and previously to the detention of the Dutch Surat ships at Portsmouth; —that the delays had arisen from the situation of the judges, who had been otherwise necessarily employed in the service of the States, and from the time required to make translations of the documents

(1)—Petition and Remonstrance of the East-India Company to the House of Commons, printed in 1628, referred to in Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, pages 329, 330.

documents which had been transmitted;—and concluded, that the detention of the ships, which, in value, far exceeded any compensation which could be expected, could only tend to bring ruin on the owners, and would excite animosities in Holland, which might affect the decision of the judges; or, if a war should be the consequence, though the King might, at any time, seize on the homeward-bound Dutch East-Indiamen, yet, from the disparity of force in the Indies, greater evils would ensue to the London Company, than those for which they were now seeking redress.

Dutch ships released, on condition that Commissioners should be sent to England.

This statement was followed by a letter from the Dutch Ambassadors to the King, dated 23d July 1628, proposing, if the three Indiamen should be released, that special Ambassadors from the States General, and Deputies from the Dutch East-India Company, should be sent into England, before the ensuing September; and that speedy justice "should be done on the "business of the judgment at Amboyna."

This proposal appears to have been acceded to, on the condition, that certain persons, who were on board the Dutch ships, should remain in England, to be examined by the Privy Council, as evidences, to ascertain the facts respecting the transactions at Amboyna; and if the Dutch Ambassadors should accede to this condition, an order of Council would be issued, for liberating the ships from the embargo. That this compliance might not depress the hopes of the East-India Company, of obtaining compensation, Lord Conway, as Secretary of State, by the King's command, addressed a letter to the Privy Council, stating his

CHAP. I. 1628-29. his determination to afford to them his protection and encouragement.

Opinion of Sir John Coke on this subject.

The Dutch Ambassadors, agreeably to the preceding declaration, came to London, before September 1628; and the opinion of Sir John Coke on the subject, in a letter addressed, by him, to Lord Conway, Secretary of State, will afford the most distinct view of the business that can be given. Sir John Coke stated to Lord Conway, his own, and Lord Dorchester's opinion "that the Lords at London should send for the East-"India Companie, and acquaint them wth the letter wch I writt "by his Mats comaundement to the Ambassadors of the States, "whereof your Lordship hath the copie; that, theruppon, they "should perswade the Companie to send over the witnesses in "the case of Amboina, not by way of comaundement or direc-"tion, but that they might volontarily go, and p̃sent themselves "to bee examined, so as neither the States might p̃tend they "wanted information in the cause, nor his Matie bee p̃judiced "in the title of submission to a foreine justice. Besides the "witnesses, they are specially to be required to send over "the Bible, Table Booke, and other documents, whereby it "appeared, under the hands of the parties executed, that "they protested their innocencie, wth some attestation, under "the hands of hable men, that the writings were their "hands."

Company refuse to send their evidences to Holland.

To this, however, the Company objected, because having sent over persons and documents to Holland, they only obtained an audience, twice, in eighteen months, and that there

was

was no article in the late treaty with the Dutch, compelling them (the Company) to send over agents to Holland. (1)

Equipments for the season.

Under these circumstances, the equipments for the season 1628-29 consisted of five ships, the destination of which was, two, for the trade with India, and three, for the trade with Persia; and though the estimated amount of merchandize, and money, which it was intended to embark on them, cannot be traced, it appears, from a petition of the Directors to the King, that they proposed to export £60,000 in gold and silver, foreign coin, or bullion, on two of the ships destined to Persia, and, therefore, it may be inferred, that the value embarked on the whole fleet must have been considerable: —this may be farther presumed, from the Court having, at the close of the season, received information that their factory had been re-established at Bantam, the King of which had addressed a letter, and sent presents, to King Charles, which His Majesty acknowledged by his answer, requesting protection to his subjects resident in, or resorting to his country.

The Dutch Ambassadors were alarmed at the effect which the delivery of the King's letter might have on the King of Bantam, by

(1)—Considerations touching the Differences between the English and Dutch East-India Companies, 1628. (East India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 82).—— Letter from the Dutch Ambassadors to the King, 13-23 July 1628.—— Original Letter from Lord Conway to the Earl of Marlborough, President of the Council, 6th August 1628.—— Original Letter from Lord Conway to the Privy Council, 3d September 1628.—— Original Letter from Sir John Coke to Lord Conway, 4th September 1628. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, Nos. 80, 81, 82).—— Reasons why the East-India Company object to send over Commissioners to Holland. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 136).

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by inducing him to make a more vigorous and protracted defence against the Dutch; and submitted to the Privy Council, that this letter was an infringement of the treaty of 1619; by which the English were bound to assist the Dutch, in defraying the expence of the siege of Bantam, and were to enjoy the half of the pepper procured at that port; and, therefore, requested, that this letter from King Charles to the King of Bantam, might not be delivered to the East-India Company, or, if it had been delivered, that it might be withdrawn. (1)

The Presidency of Surat dispatch a fleet to cruize in the Persian Gulf, and on the Malabar Coast.

The opinion of the Presidency of SURAT, in the preceding season, that a large stock should be sent to that port, and Masulipatam, to enable the factors to make purchases of cloth, and other Indian articles, suited to the trade in pepper and spices, and the destination of a large proportion of the fleet for Surat and Persia, mentioned in the home transactions, connected with the Court's former intentions to persevere in the Persian trade, account for the measures which the President and Council of Surat adopted in this season. They granted a commission to Captain Swanley, who was appointed commander of

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked D. P. No. 129.—— Petition of the East-India Company to the King, for licence to export £60,000, in Coin and Bullion, 23d March 1628-29. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 85.)—— Letter from King Charles to the King of Bantam, 24th March 1628-29. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 86.)—— Letter from the Dutch Ambassador to the Privy Council, relative to the Bantam Trade. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 137.)

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of a fleet of five ships, to proceed to the Persian Gulf, to act against the Portuguese, and to endeavour to revive and increase the trade to Persia. The terms upon which the English at Surat were with the Mogul government, were favorable for such an enterprize, for Captain Swanley was ordered to take Kherat-Khan, who had been appointed by the Mogul to proceed as his Ambassador to the King of Persia, on board his ship, and to treat him, and the Mogul subjects in his suite, with attention and respect. Captain Swanley was farther ordered to seize on all Portuguese vessels which he might meet on his voyage, and, in the first instance, to go direct to Jasques:—if, on reaching that port, he should obtain information, that the Portuguese had any force in the neighbourhood of Ormus, after landing the Ambassador and his suite at Jasques, he was immediately to attack them in that quarter. Having effected the mercantile and naval purposes of his voyage in the Gulf of Persia, he was to return to the Malabar Coast, and go down as far as Dabul, and there seize on any vessels belonging to the Coast of the Decan, or to ports not subject to the Mogul Government; one sixth part of the prize-money to belong to the captain and ship's crews, and the remainder to be carried to the Company's account. (1)

State of the trade in Persia.

The proceedings of the Agents in PERSIA, this season, in carrying the commercial instructions of the Court into effect, cannot be ascertained from the Company's records; but in the advices

(1)—Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 12th December 1628. (No. 862).

CHAP. I. 1628-29.

advices from Gombroon to Surat, it is stated, that the trade had been materially injured, by the conduct of the Mogul Ambassador, who had, under the name of presents to the Persian Court, carried to Ispahan, two-thirds of the goods which came on the fleet, by which the payment of customs at Gombroon had been evaded, and the Company's proportion of them materially diminished.(1)

Armagon fortified, and the factory at Masulipatam removed to it.

Among the expedients to which the English President and Council at Batavia had resorted, for recovering from the commercial embarrassments under which had they been placed, was the fixing a station at ARMAGON, on the Coromandel Coast, in the year 1625-26. It was not intended, at that time, to render Armagon an independent station, but an agency subordinate to MASULIPATAM; a piece of ground, therefore, had been purchased from the Naig, on which a factory had been erected, and ordnance mounted to protect the Company's property, and their servants, from the depredations of the natives, and of the Dutch.

This expedient appears, from the report of the Agents, to have been persevered in, and, notwithstanding various oppositions, they had succeeded in fortifying the factory; a precaution which was rendered more necessary, by the oppressions which the English factors at Masulipatam, were experiencing from the native Governor of that port. To such a height had those oppressions been carried, that it was resolved,

(1)—Letter from the Agent at Gombroon to the President and Council at Surat, 20th February 1628-29. (No. 863).

solved, on consultation (11th September 1628), to embark the Company's property and servants, and to abandon the factory at Masulipatam, and proceed to Armagon: — this measure was accordingly carried into effect, on the 27th September 1628, leaving at Masulipatam one of the factors, only, to recover debts. On quitting this port, the Agent sent a remonstrance to the Governor, stating that his exactions had been so arbitrary, and his obstructions to trade, so great, that the English had no other alternative, but to abandon their factory, to which they would not return, on any other condition, than that of receiving a grant of trade from the King of Golcondah, in whose dominions Masulipatam was situated. (1)

CHAP. I. 1628-29.

English President and Council at Batavia remove to Bantam.

Though no information can be collected in this season of the circumstances which induced the English President and Council at BATAVIA to accept of the offers of the King of Bantam, to permit the re-establishment of the English factory, this event has been ascertained to have taken place, early in 1628, by the letter from the King of Bantam to King Charles, accompanied with presents, and the answer of the King, requesting protection for his subjects at BANTAM; and this fact prepares us equally for the measures of the Court, regarding Bantam, and the communications from that port, which will occur in the subsequent seasons. (2)

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked B. 1, bound, pages 169 to 200.

(2)—Letter from King Charles to the King of Bantam, 24th March 1628-29. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 86).

1629-30.

CHAP. I. 1629-30. No redress obtained from the Dutch.

THE domestic situation of the London East-India Company, in 1629-30, furnishes only a continuation of the circumstances by which it was affected, in the preceding year. The Directors, at that time, had made an application to the House of Commons, for the general support of their trade, and, at the same time, were looking to the King, for information of the measures which the States General were to take, to force the Dutch Company to comply with the subsisting treaty between the two nations; and to obtain a judicial decision by the Commissioners, who had been appointed to examine the mutual disputes of the two Companies; the one for wrongs sustained, and the other, for delaying, if not refusing, to grant compensation.

The petition which the Company had, in the preceding year, presented to the House of Commons, had not been taken into consideration, before the prorogation (1629-30), but was lost sight of, when the Parliament was dissolved:—the Dutch ships, also, had been liberated, and the redress expected in England became hopeless, and the evasions in Holland, confirmed.

The equipments of this year consigned to Persia only.

Notwithstanding these distressing circumstances, the Company determined, in this season, to equip four ships for Persia, but not to send any ships to India, and to rely on the return of those

those in the Indian Seas. (1) From the stock, however, which they proposed to send, there is evidence that, though they were determined to push the trade in Persia, they were, at the same time, resolved to furnish their factories in India, with stock, for retrieving, and, if possible, regaining, their proportion of that trade.

Company petition the King for a renewal of their charter, with additional privileges.

Under the original and continued grant of the Crown, by which King James conferred on the Company an exclusive trade to the East-Indies, it had been uniformly the practice, to obtain a licence to export silver bullion, or coin, to a certain amount per annum:—the Company, on this ground, by petition to the King, prayed for permission to export £80,000 in silver bullion and coin, and £40,000 in gold, in each year, and that the exclusive right to the trade of India and Persia might be renewed and confirmed, by a new grant. The application to the House of Commons, last season, did not appear to have created any prejudice in the King, against the Company; for Sir John Coke, Secretary of State, by a reference, dated 5th October 1629, to the Attorney General, informed him, that the King was disposed to renew the grant of the sole trade of the Indies to the London Company, with the additional right to export yearly, £80,000 in silver, and £40,000 in gold, and directed him to prepare a warrant for the King's signature, to this effect; and also a separate warrant, authorizing them to export £10,000 in gold, as part of the £40,000,

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked D. P. No. 129.

CHAP. I. 1629-30. £40,000, on a small vessel, which, at this period, the Company intended to dispatch to Persia. (1)

The Presidency of Surat obtain a new Phirmaund from the Mogul, on condition of assisting him against the Portuguese.

The circumstance, in the preceding season, of the Ambassador from the Mogul to the King of Persia, having proceeded to his destination, on board one of the English ships, commanded by Captain Swanley, explains the degree of protection which the Presidency at SURAT were receiving from the Mogul, who now considered the Company's ships as the most efficient force which he could employ against the Portuguese, with whom he was at war. To obtain this assistance, he granted a Phirmaund to the English, which was delivered to the President at Surat, on the 5th April 1629, authorizing them to make reprisals on all Portuguese ships, both at sea and in port, within his dominions, and intimated, that he would require the assistance of the English ships in the following season. In communicating this information, the President and Council requested, that large supplies, both of stock and shipping, might be sent, to enable them to improve their trade at Surat, and to execute this service, should it be required. In consequence of this encouragement, they had dispatched all their ships for Europe, with full and rich cargoes; but great supplies of

(1)—Petition of the East-India Company to King Charles I, in 1629, and reference of Sir John Coke to the Attorney General, dated 5th October 1629. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 88.)

CHAP. I. 1629-30.

of stock would be necessary next season, to invigorate the trade, as they had entered into contracts for cloth at Ahmedabad, Broach, Brodera, and Surat, which, with the interest, would amount to £100,000. [1]

Armagon becomes the principal English station on the Coromandel Coast.

In the year 1628-29, the factory at ARMAGON had been established and fortified; and, though exposed to opposition from the Dutch, and extortion by the Naig, it had effectually resisted both, and was the retreat to which the oppressions of the native Governor of Masulipatam had obliged the English factors at that port to retire. In this year, Armagon is described to be defended by twelve pieces of cannon, mounted round the factory, and by a guard of twenty-three factors and soldiers. The Agent at Masulipatam had embarked with the Company's property, for this station, having first protested against the extortions to which the English had been subjected, and declared that he would not return to Masulipatam, unless a Phirmaund should be obtained from the King of Golcondah, for the protection of the English.

Before proceeding to Armagon, the ships lay off Masulipatam, for several months, in expectation that the Governor would accede to the proposals of the Agents; but finding that no redress was to be obtained, they sent in a remonstrance, in still more spirited terms, declaring that, unless payment should be made of the debts and losses of the Company, at that port, to the amount of 53,618 pagodas, they would make reprisals on the ships and goods of the King of Golcondah, wherever they

(1)—General Letter from the President and Council at Surat to the Court, 27th April 1629. (No. 867).

CHAP. I. 1629-30. they might be found:—this remonstrance producing no effect, the ships sailed to Armagon; and the Agents stated to the English President and Council at Batavia, that the fortifications at Armagon must be increased, a stronger guard kept up, and supplies of military stores sent, otherwise the place would not be tenable; but that the charges of such an establishment would be less expensive than the presents for temporary indulgencies, which they were constantly obliged to pay, and that the trade at this port would be profitable, if the factory was in a state of security. (1)

Company's factory re-established at Bantam.

The English factory having been re-established at BANTAM, it becomes interesting to observe the circumstances of that settlement, at the period of the re-opening of the trade. The Pangran, or King of Bantam, was, at this time, at war with the Materam, or Emperor of Java, and had been obliged to conclude a peace with the Dutch, but had stipulated with the English to defend the port by sea:—these hostilities had prevented the cultivation of pepper, and disappointed the expectations of the President and Council at Bantam, of trade in this article;—the war, however, in Java, had facilitated the re-establishment of the English factory at Bantam, because the Dutch, who, for so long a time, had opposed this event, were fully occupied by the

(1)—General Letter from the President and Council at Bantam to the Court, 28th October 1629. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked B 1, bound, pages 200 to 207)——Protest delivered to the Governor of Masulipatam, 22d May 1629. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked B 1, bound, page 207).——Letter from the Agent at Armagon to the President and Council at Batavia, 25th June 1629, (B 1, bound, page 224).

the Materam of Java, who had besieged Jaccatra with an army of eighty thousand men, and who, though repulsed by Van Coens, from the fortifications being strong, and the garrison numerous, was still in the field, and preparing for a new attack. (1)

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1629-30.

(1)—General Letter from the President and Council of Bantam to the Court, 28th October 1629. (No. 868.)

1630-31.

CHAP. I. 1630-31. Political situation of England at this period.

THE dissolution of Parliament having left the King without resources, for supporting the war against France and Spain, he was obliged to conclude a peace with those nations, at the crisis when the power of Europe was balanced between them, and when, perhaps, in a greater degree than at any former period, the weight of England in the scale, in favor of the one, or of the other, would have given it the preponderance. The King, however, was unable to assume, in his fleets or armies, that warlike attitude, by which alliances are upheld, or encroachments on national rights prevented, and this hard situation was the true cause of the rise of the factions in England, which obliged its sovereign to accede to the treaties of peace, and induced both France and Spain to shew that indulgence to the English prisoners, which lessened the national dislike at both, and turned it against the irregular levies of money, to which the King was obliged to resort, to supply his treasury.

These events explain the decline of the influence of England, on the continental powers, particularly on the States General, whose connexions with England were alone implicated in the questions, regarding the comparative rights of the Dutch and of the London East-India Companies.

It

CHAP. I. 1630-31.

It would be foreign from the object of this Review, to go beyond a general reference to the events in England, which were daily weakening the power of the Crown, to grant protection, or to support the rights of a commercial Company, farther than to advert to the connexion between the prevailing prejudices against prerogative, and against exclusive privileges to mercantile bodies. It is, however, under these circumstances, that we have, in this season, to trace the measures which the London East-India Company adopted, to support their trade against so powerful a rival as the Dutch Company, at a crisis when they neither could derive support from the Crown, nor from a Parliament, which the sovereign was not disposed to assemble, lest new and dangerous questions might arise, like those which had led to a dissolution, in the preceding season.

Company petition for a licence to export foreign bullion.

In 1630-31, therefore, the East-India Company took such measures, only, as were within their means, to uphold their trade, without harrassing the King, by applications for his interference with the States General, for that redress which they now began to consider as hopeless :—the Directors, however, by petition to the King, represented, that having resolved to continue their efforts to support their trade, they intended to dispatch six ships, of which four (the Mary, the Exchange, the Speedwell, and the Hopewell) were consigned to their factors in Persia, and the north part of India, and two (the Palsgrave and the London) to Bantam and the Southern Islands, and therefore prayed for licence to export, in this fleet, £30,000 in foreign gold, as, by their Patent, they were not authorized to

export

CHAP. I. 1630-31. export gold, without a special grant for that purpose. This petition was referred by Mr. Secretary Coke to the Attorney General, directing him to prepare a warrant to that effect, for the King's signature. (1)

Company's trade at Surat oppressed by the Dutch.

The favorable circumstances in which the Presidency of SURAT had been placed, in the preceding year, by the services which their shipping had rendered to the Mogul, both in keeping open his alliance with Persia, and in affording him assistance in his war with the Portuguese, induced the Dutch, if they could not, by artifice, weaken the connexions between the English and the Mogul Government, to employ the mercantile scheme of depressing the Company's stock and credit. For this purpose, they lowered the prices at their sales, and raised them in their purchases ;—the Europe goods they sold at a great loss, and gave such high prices for Indian produce, as rendered the markets almost impracticable. By this expedient, they reduced the funds of the Presidency, and obliged them to give up the plan of forming new factories, on the Coromandel Coast.

These events led the Surat Presidency to represent the nscessity of abandoning, altogether, the practice of particular voyages, and of calling for new subscriptions in England, to form

(1)—Petition of the East-India Company to the King, for licence to export £30,000 in gold, with reference, by Mr. Secretary Coke, to the Attorney General, dated Hampton Court, 24th October 1630. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 89).—— MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked D. P. No. 129.

form a large Joint Stock :—mean time, they had resolved to make every effort to improve the favorable light in which they were held by the Mogul Government, and requested that rich scarlet and violet coloured cloth of gold might be sent, as a present for the Mogul, which would be an inducement to his great officers to purchase similar articles, the sales of which would yield considerable profit.

Company's ships attacked by the Portuguese fleet at Swally, and in the Gulf of Persia.

On the arrival of the Company's fleet of five sail, from England, in September 1630, on which large supplies had been embarked, a new obstacle to the progress of the trade arose from the Portuguese. The Viceroy of Goa, in the month of April, had received a reinforcement from Europe, of nine ships and two thousand soldiers, and projected the re-capture of the Island of Ormus. His first measure was, an application to the Governor of Surat, to use his influence with the Mogul, to expel the English and Dutch from his dominions ; to admit the Portuguese to settle at Surat; and to have the exclusive trade of that port granted to them, but this application was rejected ;—his next project was, to prevent the entrance of the English ships into Swally :—a sharp action ensued, between the English ships and the Portuguese fleet, commanded by Don Francisco Coutinho, in which, without being decisive, the English ships had the advantage : — this action was followed by frequent skirmishes, both at sea and on shore, the English still being able to maintain their ground. Irritated by opposition, the Portuguese Admiral made an unsuccessful effort to destroy the English ships, by fire : the result again was, that the English vessels made good

the

CHAP. I. 1630-31. the landing of their cargoes. Under these circumstances, the Presidency represented to the Directors, the absolute necessity of sending out large equipments, to enable them to defend their houses of trade and ships, against the superior force of the Portuguese; for though the Dutch, as well as the English, were at war with this nation, no reliance could be placed on any assistance which they would afford:—the urgency was the greater, from no shipping having arrived from Bantam at Surat, and from the naval power of the Portuguese being solely directed against the English. (1)

This conduct of the Viceroy of Goa was only preparatory to his project of reviving the influence of the Portuguese, in Persia, and excluding the English from any hold on that court, or any proportion in the trade. The English Agents in PERSIA, had, at this time, obtained two Phirmaunds, allowing them to bring silk from Ghilan to Ispahan; but these Phirmaunds were rendered ineffectual, by a rebellion which had taken place against the new King of Persia, in which the stores of silk, in Ghilan, were exposed to an indiscriminate plunder by the rebels. The loss of the Russia merchants, alone, on this occasion, was calculated to amount to £45,000 sterling.

The Phirmaunds for trade in Persia rendered void by the death of Shah Abbas.

In Persia, on the death of the Sovereign, all contracts or grants became void, unless confirmed by his successor, and, to this object, the Agents were directing their principal attention, but could only, this season, obtain an order for two hundred Persian soldiers

(1)—General Letter from the President and Council at Surat to the Court, 13th April 1630 and 6th January 1630-31.

soldiers to proceed to Gombroon, to protect the English factory and shipping against any attack which might be made by the Portuguese :—the trade, thus, suffered by the death of Shah Abbas, and the accession of a new sovereign. The Portuguese Envoy had insinuated himself into the favor of the Khan of Shiras, who had given that nation permission to trade to Cong, and had presented their petition to the King, for the restoration of Ormus; while the English Agent, who had only been able to procure a Phirmaund, authorizing him to purchase five hundred load, or a thousand bales of silk, per annum, for two years, was of opinion, that, on the whole, the new King was well disposed towards the English, and that, in more peaceable times, the trade might be rendered productive. (1)

The factors on the Coromandel Coast propose to resettle at Masulipatam.

The English trade on the Coromandel Coast, from the factors at Masulipatam having retired to ARMAGON, in 1629-30, had, in a great measure, been confined to this station. In this year, 1630-31, the Agent was obliged to return to MASULIPATAM, and compelled to trade, under the licence of the Governor :—to balance this disadvantage, another Agent had been sent to make an experiment for trade at Pettipolee, where the Coast goods could be purchased at half the amount of duties paid at Masulipatam ; but he reported, that it would be indispensable to resettle a factory at Masulipatam, because, at this port only, a proper supply of Coast goods, for the Southern factories, could be purchased :—on the whole, he stated, that it would be necessary

(1)—Letters from the Agents at Gombroon, and at the Persian Camp before Bagdat, to the Court, 6th October 1630, and 17th March 1630-31. (Nos. 889, 879).

CHAP. I. 1630-31. sary to strengthen the fortified factory at Armagon, by a reinforcement of twenty soldiers, to resist the probable obstructions which the trade at Masulipatam and Pettipolee might experience from the native Governors. The factors at Armagon had proceeded with their purchases, under a pressure on trade which had arisen from the prevalence of a famine along the Coast, and were, in future, agreeably to the Court's orders, to act under instructions from the President and Council at Surat. (1)

The Presidency of Bantam reduced to an Agency, subordinate to Surat.

The circumstances of the re-established Agency at BANTAM, in 1630-31, assumed a new character :—instead of holding the rank of a President and Council, which they had continued to retain, even during their residence at Batavia, they now took the inferior rank of an Agency, and became subordinate to the President and Council at Surat, to whom they were directed to report on the expediency of maintaining a factory, either at Masulipatam or Armagon, for supplying Bantam with Coromandel goods. In this new situation, they were allowed to draw upon the Presidency of Surat, for money and goods sufficient to purchase, annually, twelve hundred tons of pepper, and one hundred tons of cloves.

The situation of Bantam, as an Ageney, had been improved, by the favorable manner in which they had been treated, both by the King, and by the natives, and from the circumstance of hostilities, between the Materam of Java, and the Dutch at Batavia, being rather suspended, than terminated.

A change,

(1)—General Letters from the Agents at Masulipatam and Armagon to the Court, 2d. November and 27th December 1636.

CHAP. I. 1630-31.

A change, at this time, had taken place in the King of Bantam's dominions, which materially affected the trade in pepper. After the English had been expelled from Bantam, the demand for this article had diminished, and as the supplies of provisions had not arrived, as formerly, the natives had been obliged to employ themselves in the cultivation of rice and sugar-canes. These products being found to yield greater profit than pepper, it was estimated, that Bantam could not furnish more than five hundred tons annually, but fifteen hundred tons might be procured at Jambee, and eight hundred, on the Coast of Sumatra :—the trade at Macassar, however, was improving, as two hundred tons of cloves had been, this season, obtained from that station. (1)

(1)—Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Agent and Council at Bantam, 29th September 1630. (No. 34.)—— General Letter from the Agent and Council at Bantam to the Court, 6th December 1630. (No. 897).—— General Letter from Surat to the Court, 6th January 1630-31.

1631-32.

CHAP. I.
1631-32.
Establishment of the Third Joint Stock.

THE reparation for the wrongs sustained from the Dutch, which had occupied the attention of the Company, for so long a time, was lost sight of, in their domestic transactions, in the year 1631-32. The relative situation of the King with the European powers, more particularly with the States General, from the recent events on the continent, and from the growing strength of the factions in England, had rendered this subject as obsolete, as unavailing:—in this year, therefore, we have only to look at the measures of the Company, to recover their heavy losses, and the expedients which they adopted, for preserving the direct trade between England and the East-Indies.

After calling in the balances of the old Subscriptions, which were found to be inconsiderable, it became necessary to unite them with a new Subscription, which amounted to £420,700, and formed, what is known in the Company's affairs under the denomination of the *Third Joint Stock.* On this fund, seven ships were equipped for this season; but whether those ships were intended to bring off, from their settlements, the considerable investments described in the foreign transactions of the preceding year, or for invigorating their trade, cannot be

be ascertained, as the amount of the money, or merchandize, embarked on the ships, is not specified. (1)

CHAP. I. 1631-32.

Regulations for the administration of the Company's affairs.

The attention of the Court appears, in this season, to have been directed to two objects; the domestic administration of the Company's affairs, by a Governor, Committees, and Court of Adventurers; and the providing against the encroachments on their trade, by the private traffic of the officers and seamen, on board their ships, whose gains were asserted to exceed, in proportion, those of the Company.

On the first of these subjects, or the domestic administration of the Company, the Court had hitherto proceeded on a body of regulations, which had been formed at their first establishment, and which had arisen out of the conditions inserted in their first and successive Charters;—at this time, complaints were made, that this *Book of Orders* had not been known, or understood, by the body of the Generality, or Proprietors, and an opinion was entertained, that new and shorter regulations might be devised, particularly, to prevent the Governor from continuing in office longer than one year, and to limit the powers of the Court of Committees, in administering oaths to any of the Company's servants, except those, for whom forms of oaths had been prescribed in the original Patents. After long discussions, it was resolved, that it would be dangerous to make any alteration in the Book of Orders, as such alteration might create doubts, respecting the powers of the Company, under their Charter. (2)

 Though

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked D. P. No. 129.—— Sir Jeremy Sambrooke's Report on the East-India Trade.

(2)—Report on the Proceedings of a General Quarterly Court of Adurers, 11th May 1631. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 94).

CHAP. I.
1630-31.
King's Proclamation against the Private Trade of the Company's officers.

Though the next subject, or the private traffic of the Company's officers, required regulation, the discussions on it, led to a more general question, or the hazards to which they, were beginning to be exposed, by the encroachments of Private Traders. On this point, application was made by the Company, to the Crown, for protection, and a Proclamation was issued by the King, "for restraining the excess of the private or clandestine "trade, carried on, to and from the East-Indies, by the officers "and sailors in the Company's own ships." This Proclamation furnishes the interesting commercial information, of the goods which the Company were permitted to export to, and import from the Indies, into England:—the exports were, "perpetuanoes "and drapery (broad-cloths, &c.), pewter, saffron, woollen "stockings, silk stockings and garters, ribbands, roses, edged "with gold lace, beaver hats with gold and silver bands, felt "hats, strong waters, knives, Spanish leather shoes, iron, and "looking glasses:" the imports were, "long pepper, white "pepper, white powdered sugar preserved, nutmegs and ginger "preserved, myrabolums, bezoar stones, drugs of all sorts, "agate heads, blood-stones, musk, aloes soccatrina, amber-"grease, rich carpets of Persia and of Cambaya, quilts of "sattin, taffaty, painted calicoes, benjamin, damasks, sattins "and taffaties of China, quilts of China embroidered with "gold, quilts of Pitania embroidered with silk, galls, worm "seeds, sugar-candy, China dishes, and porcelain of all "sorts." (1)

As

(1)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol xix, page 335.

CHAP. I. 1631-32. Company's trade depressed on the West of India, in consequence of a famine.

As the Company's factories had been placed under the controling power of the President and Council at SURAT, and as the wishes of this Presidency, to have a large supply of stock, for invigorating the trade, had been complied with, by the formation of the new, or *Third Joint Stock*, (though the operation of this fund could not be yet felt in the foreign settlements) we have to follow up the measures which they devised, for maintaining the amicable relations, in which they were held by the Mogul Government, and to trace the temporary measures which they adopted, till they received funds from England, to support their trade.

The general famine, which had prevailed in India, had raised the prices of Surat cloths, and other articles, in all the countries on the West Coast, and, from its duration, was accompanied by a pestilence :—these events augmented the distresses of this Presidency, and obliged them to request a large supply of stock, to meet the rise in the prices of cloth and indigo ; for though the investment of those articles would be small, the prices of them, in Europe, might be proportionally raised, from the Dutch having been obliged to suspend their purchases, by not having money to discharge the contracts into which they had entered.

The representation which the Agents at Bantam had made to the President and Council at Surat, of the necessity of being supplied

CHAP. I. 1631-32. plied with Coromandel cloths, to furnish that station, and the Southern markets, with the means of increasing their investments in pepper and spices, had determined the Presidency to resettle the factory at MASULIPATAM, and to strengthen ARMAGON, that it might become a permanent station, because, to this port, the finer spices might be brought, which would find a ready market in Persia, though pepper was not in demand in that country. (1)

Company's privileges in Persia, renewed and confirmed by the new King, Shah Sophi.

The representations which the Agents in PERSIA had made, in the preceding year, of the effect of the death of Shah Abbas on their privileges and trade, and of the danger of both being obstructed, till the new Sovereign should confirm them, explains their resolution to continue their applications at the Persian Court, till these objects should be obtained. Happily, in this season, their hopes were realised, for the reigning sovereign, Shah Sephi, confirmed all the former Phirmaunds to the English; but these grants could only be rendered effectual, by presents of fine cloths, and fine cutlery, being annually given to the King, and to his principal officers, to the amount of five hundred Tomands, or above £1,500 sterling. In confirmation of the favorable light in which the English Agents were held by the King, an answer had been obtained to the letter of King Charles, of which a translation was forwarded. On the regrant of privileges, it was required that a contract should be made, by which the Agents became bound to take from the King, silk to the value of twenty thousand Tomands (above £60,000 sterling) per annum,

(1)—Letter from the President and Council at Surat to the Agent and Council at Bantam, 8th September 1631.

num, of which one-third was to be paid in money, and two-thirds in goods. CHAP. I. 1631-32.

The rebellion in Persia, accompanied with an indiscriminate plunder, had been conducted by a Georgian Prince, and materially affected the trade in silk, of which article the late Shah Abbas had always kept large quantities in store, whereas the present King had not, as yet, formed any depôts of this commodity. This event diffused great quantities of silk over Turkey and Russia, where it could be bought cheaper, at the time the Agent wrote, than in Persia; and till a store could again be laid up, the demand for immediate supplies necessarily raised the price. The Agent, at the same time, had been relieved from the rivalship of the Dutch in the market, by that people having incurred the displeasure of the new King.

Under these circumstances, the factory at Gombroon was continued, and rendered the principal depôt for silk;—but this station subjected the Company's servants to journies, twice in every year, between Gombroon and Ispahan, in which, this season, they had lost not less than six factors; and would be obliged to hold out temptations to the Persians, and to the Khan of Shiras, to bring the silks to Gombroon, at which port their stores would be in safety. During this season, they had received five hundred and fifty Tomands, as the Company's proportion of customs, which had been carried to their account. (1)

The

(1)—Letters from the Agent and Council at Ispahan, and at Gombroon, to the Court, 26th September and 10th October 1631, and 22d March 1631-32.

CHAP. I.
1631-32.
The trade at Bantam depressed from the want of supplies from the Coromandel Coast.

The situation of affairs at BANTAM, in this year, was rather unfavorable :—the Presidency of Surat had, indeed, furnished supplies of men and shipping, of which the Agents were in great want ; and referring to their report of the preceding year, for an explanation of the cause of the decline of the pepper trade, they stated, that they had procured only three hundred tons, but were in expectation of drawing about four hundred, from Jambee : the want of supplies of Coast cloths, had been the more distressing, as those expected from Armagon, from the continuance of the famine on the Coromandel Coast, had not arrived, because both the weavers, and the washers, had not been able to furnish the quantity for which they had contracted. (1)

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Council at Bantam to the Court, 30th January 1631-32.
—— Letter from the Agent at Armagon to the Agent at Bantam, 24th December 1631.

1632-33.

CHAP. I. 1632-33.

Prejudicial effects of the disputes regarding the internal administration of the Company's affairs.

The domestic events, affecting the London East-India Company, during the season 1632-33, arose from the prejudices against monopolies, which had become a subject of alarm, as leading to an opinion, that new Companies, or Corporations, might arise, notwithstanding new monopolies had been abolished, by the last Parliament of King James. It is not probable that this alarm would have produced any material sensation on the Company, if it had not been attended with those disputes, respecting the domestic administration of their affairs, which certain members of the Generality had promoted, and which, in this year, were reported to the King, to prevent any idea being entertained, that the Company were going beyond the powers which they were authorized to exercise, under their original, and successive Charters.

The equipments of the Company, for this season, do not appear on their records; but it may be inferred, from the licence given to them by the King to export £40,000 in foreign gold, (bullion) to Persia and to India, as part of the £100,000 allowed to be annually exported in foreign silver, that the cargoes and stock, for maintaining their trade in the East-Indies, bore a proportion to those of the preceding year. (1)

 Though

(1)—Report by the East-India Company to the Secretary of State, respecting disputes, at several Courts of the Generality, in 1632. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 94).—— Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xix, page 386.

CHAP. I.
1632-33.

The Company obliged to assist the Khan of Shiras, in an attempt to drive the Portuguese from Muscat

Though the commercial effect of the new Joint Stock formed in England, cannot be traced in the reports of their settlements abroad, in this season, we discover, that the President and Council at SURAT had sent supplies of Surat and Coast cloths to invigorate the trade at Bantam, but that the cloths from Surat were less suited to that market, than those from the Coromandel Coast.(1)

The Company's trade in PERSIA had, in the preceding season, received additional support, from the confirmation of the Phirmaunds by the new Sovereign, Sultan Sephi, and from the unfavorable manner in which he had received the proposals of the Dutch; but the commercial embarrassments which arose from the royal depôts of silk having been plundered, were still felt, as the supply of this staple article had been small, and the prices advanced. The project of the Agents, of having the silk brought to Gombroon by the Persians, to lessen the risks and expences of carriage, had failed; for the goods, in their transit, had been purloined by the Persians, to such an amount, that the Agents had been obliged to re-weigh all the silk, before it could be made up in bales, for exportation. The contracts entered into with the King, last season, had been fulfilled by both parties, and the amount paid in money and goods; but these payments had however so abridged the funds, that large supplies

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Council at Bantam to the Court, 10th December 1632. (No. 959).

plies were required to meet the contract of the subsequent year; and in particular, of Masulipatam cloths, which were now becoming of more value in making up the quantity of goods, which were accepted as part of the price of the silk.

It having become an important object to conciliate the friendship of the Khan of Shiras, on whom the port of Gombroon more immediately depended, the Agents had been obliged to offer the assistance of the English ships, to co-operate with him, in an expedition which he was preparing to dislodge the Portuguese from Muscat. This offer was made, because the Agents had only the alternative, either of incurring his displeasure, or of giving an opportunity to the Dutch, (who would readily have embraced it,) to regain the favor of the King, and of the Khan. The Agents, to avoid similar embarrassments, suggested to the Court, the expediency of having powers to take possession of some place, on the Coast of Persia, to which they could retreat, in the event of any emergency.(1)

Phirmaund obtained from the King of Golcondah, allowing the Company to re-establish their factory at Masulipatam.

The importance of the Coromandel cloths, for facilitating trade with Persia, and particularly with Bantam, has appeared in the foreign transactions of every year, since factories or stations had been attempted on that part of the Peninsula; for though the oppressions of the native Governor of Masulipatam had compelled the English factors at that port to withdraw to Armagon, they had been obliged to return, last season:—under all these disadvantages, they had, for some time, been

 making

(1)—Letters from the Agent and Council at Gombroon to the Court, 21st October 1632, and 23d March 1632-33.

CHAP. I. 1632-33. making applications to the King of Golcondah, the sovereign of this part of the Coast, for a Phirmaund to protect the English factory and trade from the extortions of his officers. In November 1632, this Phirmaund was obtained, which authorized the English to re-establish their trade at MASULIPATAM, and, in general, allowed them liberty of trade in the other ports in his dominions: — by this grant, the King remitted the heavy duties which had been exacted from them, at Masulipatam, amounting to eight hundred pagodas, annually, and limited the amount to five hundred pagodas per annum. In return, the English obliged themselves to import Persian horses, and, as the Phirmaund expresses it, "other "rarities," into his dominions, of which, agreeably to invoice, he was to have the preference of purchase; or, if he rejected them, on account of the price, or from not having occasion for them, the English were to have permission to dispose of them, without being liable to vexatious payments, either to the Governor, or to his subordinates. The Phirmaund was accompanied by a Cowle, or order to the Rajah of the district, enjoining obedience to the King's commands.(1)

Trade at Bantam precarious, from the opposition of the Dutch, and the reduced rank of the Agency.

The Company's factory at BANTAM, in this season, continued to struggle against the opposition of the Dutch, though they represented, on the whole, that the commerce was beginning to assume a better aspect. Considerable difficulty had arisen from the reduced state of their rank, and therefore they submitted,

(1)—Copy of Phirmaund granted by the King of Golcondah to the English, for trade to Masulipatam, &c. dated November 1632, called *The Golden Phirmaund.* (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked B, bound, pages 253, 261).

mitted, the necessity of a commission being sent to them, with authority to take cognizance of offenders, and to bring them to justice, by inflicting capital, and lesser punishments; daily occurrences having proved, that without such authority, subordination could not be maintained. CHAP. I. 1632-33.

The Dutch had, in this year, prevented the English traders from obtaining supplies of spices from Amboyna and the Moluccas, the investment, therefore, depended entirely on the pepper which they could collect at Bantam, and at Sumatra, from which the Dutch had annually procured so large a quantity as two thousand tons;—the shipping, from these causes, must have returned empty, if they had not suspended the order from the Presidency of Surat, of prohibiting trade with the West Coast of Sumatra: if, however they were properly supplied with shipping and goods from the Coromandel Coast, the trade at Bantam might be revived, and again assume a prosperous aspect; but they had, with difficulty, been able to retain the factories at Jambee, Maccassar, and Japarra.(1)

(1)—General Letter from the Agent aud Council at Bantam to the Court, 10th December 1602.

1633-34.

CHAP. I.
1633-34.
Conferences between the Privy Council, and the Dutch Ambassadors, for adjusting the differences between the London and Dutch Companies.

FROM the distracted state of public opinion, in this year, between the King, who considered his right of deciding for the good of his subjects, agreeably to the usages of his predecessors, to be established, and the leaders of disjointed parties, who held the measures of the King, to obtain resources, to be contrary to the Constitution, it could not have been expected, that the protracted subject of the encroachments of the Dutch on the London Company would have become matter of discussion between the Privy Council and the Dutch Ambassadors. In October 1633, however, the Council held repeated conferences with the Dutch Envoy, and examined the Directors of the London East-India Company, to ascertain some ground, upon which the dispute might, at last, be amicably adjusted. The object of the Envoy was to obtain from the King, an Order of Council, that the Dutch ships, proceeding to, and returning from, the East-Indies, might not again be exposed to detention in England, explaining, that no treaty could proceed with freedom, while the Dutch ships were exposed to such a contingency; as to prevent its recurrence, the sailing of the Dutch fleets from India, and from Holland, had been countermanded: — on the whole, that the claims of the English on the Dutch Company

Company must be examined and decided on, article by article, and not in a general manner, which would only lead to a decision, to which neither the States, nor the Dutch Company, would accede. The Directors of the London Company, in answer, stated, that in so far as regarded their interest, the examination, article by article, was only a recurrence to the plan of procrastination and delay, and produced (as they had done at the former discussions) an enumeration of the injuries which they had sustained from the Dutch, who had asserted rights of sovereignty in the countries within their limits, and had excluded them, not only from ports at which they had a participation in the trade, but from stations, recognized to belong to them by subsisting treaties.

Decision of the Privy Council.

After successive conferences, during the months of October and November 1633, the Privy Council decided, — that, "in their Lordships' opinions, it hath bene a greate impertinencie in the Netherlanders to stand soe obstinately upon "the scruple touching the manner of the treaty, concerning "the differences between our East-India Company and theyres; "but, howsoever, to demonstrate a good affeccon, on our "parte, to compose and accorde the said differences, their "Lops resolve to overrule our said merchants, and to proceed "in this treatie, article by article, as the said Netherlanders "desire: — and because they would not have their labors and "endeavors herein altogether fruitles, their Lops hold it necessarie, that all such articles and matters, touching the said "differences, as shall by this treatie be agreed on, shalbe valid "and

CHAP. I. 1633-34.

"and binding, albeit they may not agree in all the articles "and points in question." (1)

It can only be collected from the Company's records, that in this year, the equipments consisted of five ships, for India and Persia; but the amount of money, or of goods, embarked on them, cannot be ascertained. (2)

Phirmaund obtained from the Mogul, allowing the Company to trade to Pipley in Bengal.

The Company's affairs at SURAT, in this year, were receiving the continued protection of the Mogul, by which means their factory and their trade, on that side of the Peninsula, proceeded without interruption, while it was gradually extending to other parts of his dominions. A Phirmaund had been obtained, on the 2d February 1633-34, for liberty of trade to the English, in the province of BENGAL, without any other restriction, than that the English ships were to resort only to the port of PIPLEY. This event ascertains the precise period, when the English first obtained a right to enter the Ganges, and the countries which, in subsequent times, opened to them the most productive trade of any which they have enjoyed in the

(1)—Copies of Orders in Council, relative to the Differences between the English and Dutch East-India Companies, October and November 1633. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 98).

(2)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked D. P., No. 129. —— Sir Jeremy Sambrooke's Report on East-India Trade.

CHAP. I.
1633-34.

of the East and perhaps this trade was held to be of consequence, even at this early period, by the President and Council of Surat, from the heavy losses they had experienced in a contract for indigo, at Agra.(1)

The Trade in Persia practicable only by contracts with the King.

The trade to PERSIA, in this year, was prosecuted with considerable advantage, notwithstanding a great mortality among the Company's servants. An explanation is given, of what the Agents held to be the only practicable system on which this trade could be carried on, or by contracts with the King :—the private merchants, they stated, had been found by experience, neither to have the means, nor the credit, on which trade, with them, could proceed; for no remedy could be had either against their frauds, or even against those of the King's servants, except by an immediate address to himself; and, in illustration, added, that such had been the badness and short weight of the silks, that they had complained, personally, to the King, and exhibited the bales of silk to him, in their deficient state, and obtained an order for immediate redress; they did not, however, think it advisable to bring forward any offer to the King for a new contract, being afraid that the Dutch would bid higher terms than themselves, and obtain a hold on that proportion of the silk trade, which the English possessed ;—for notwithstanding the Phirmaunds, large quantities of this article were carried into Turkey, and the terms of the contract evaded. The Agents concluded with repeating their applications for instructions,

(1)— Letters from the President and Council at Surat to the Court, 21st February 1633-34.

CHAP. I.
1633-34.

instructions, whether they should co-operate with the Persians, in the attack projected against Muscat, being still under the disagreeable alternative (as the Dutch would readily afford this assistance) either to employ the English vessels in this service, or to fall under the displeasure of the Court.

In this year, the Agent at Gombroon had only received two hundred and forty-two Tomands, as the Company's share of the customs at that port. (1)

It does not appear, that any material changes had occurred at the factories, either on the COROMANDEL COAST, or at BANTAM, or at the subordinate Agencies, as no detail of such events appears on the Company's records.

(1)—Letters from the Agent and Council at Ispahan to the Court, 26th June and 28th September 1633.

1634-35.

CHAP. I.
1634-35.
The disputes between the King and Parliament render redress to the Company from the Dutch hopeless.

THE conferences with the Dutch Envoy, which had occupied the attention of the Privy Council, and of the Court of Directors, in the preceding season, appear to have ceased with the decision which has been detailed; and, indeed, from the convulsed aspect which the internal government of England was assuming, at this juncture, it could not be expected that the Company would renew their applications to the King, on this protracted and hopeless business, at a time when the kingdom was almost without a navy, and, altogether, without a regular army, and when the powers on the continent were strengthening their military forces, and the King endeavouring to assemble a fleet, to keep up the national defence and character, by sea. The resources from which the support of the navy were to be drawn, was held to be conformable to ancient usages, by one party, and to be unconstitutional, without the authority of Parliament, by the other:—amid such divided opinions, it can only be collected, that the equipments for preserving the India trade, which the Directors were preparing this season, were on a limited scale, consisting only of three ships, and no specification remains of the value embarked on them, either in money or goods, or of the destination assigned to them. (1)

 Though

(1)—MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked D. P., No. 119.——Sir Jeremy Sambrooke's Report on the East India Trade.

CHAP. I.
1634-35.
The Council of Surat acknowledge having been engaged in private trade.

Though the relation between the Company's foreign factories had, for some years, been modelled, with the object of rendering SURAT the principal seat of trade, to which all their other factories were to look for instructions, this system, in the year 1634-35, was found to have been adopted, without a proper knowledge, either of the support which Surat could afford, or of the commercial relations which were practicable between it and the trade at Bantam, connected with that on the Coromandel Coast.

At Surat, hitherto, the leading measure had been, to open and to establish a trade between the West of India and Persia, and to this object the principal resources, and the greatest part of the shipping, had been destined; while the trade at Bantam, so recently re-established, as well as that at Sumatra, and on the Coromandel Coast, was left to struggle with difficulties, arising from scanty supplies of stock and shipping, and the unfavorable manner in which the Surat cloths were viewed in the eastern markets. In this year it was found, that the President and Council at Surat, instead of attending to the Company's trade in Persia, had, in fact, been carrying on private trade, on their own account; but having differed among themselves, this fraud was discovered, and they were under the necessity of acknowledging the fact to the Court, and throwing themselves on its mercy, rather than on its justice.

Though

CHAP. I.
1634-35.

Truce between the Viceroy of Goa and the Presidency of Surat.

Though the Surat cloths had sold in Europe, the indigo brought from Agra was not found to be an article of ready sale, either in Persia or in Europe; and it was, therefore, determined, to withdraw the Agency from Agra, and other places connected with it, and to endeavour to come to an accommodation with the Viceroy of Goa, to procure pepper on the Malabar Coast, which would form a productive article in both markets.— This agreement accordingly took place, between the President of Surat and the Viceroy of Goa, in May or June 1634, in the form of a truce, or cessation of arms, by which the Portuguese ports were to be open to the English, and the English factories to act on friendly terms towards the Portuguese, and this truce was to continue, as the rule of proceeding between the two nations, till six months after the notification of the determination of the Crowns of England and Spain, on this subject, should be known in India.(1)

Trade in Persia precarious from the character of the King.

The protection which, in the preceding year, the Agents in PERSIA had experienced from the King, in this season became more doubtful, that sovereign having become absorbed in dissipation, and inattentive to business:—notwithstanding this change, the last contract for silk, to the value of thirty-two thousand Tomands, had been fulfilled on the part of the Agent, who expressed his doubts, whether a new contract could be made on the same

(1)—General Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 29th December 1634.—— Extract of Letter from Captain Weddel to the Court, dated 31st July 1634. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 102).—— Extract of Letter to the East-India Company, dated Goa, 12th January 1634-35. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 102).

CHAP. I.
1634-35.

same advantageous terms, or what quantity of silk could be depended upon, because the Dutch were giving high prices, and had been very profuse in their bribes to the King and his officers; the Agent, therefore, was apprehensive, that the Persians, in the next contract, would insist on selling their silk for ready money only, as Indian goods had ceased to be in esteem in the Persian market.

The value of the customs at Gombroon had declined, and the moiety which belonged to the Company had, in this season, amounted, only, to three hundred and forty-one Tomands; the Agent, therefore, submitted, that it would be preferable to give up this claim, and to accept an annual specified allowance in lieu of it. (1)

Additional Phirmaund obtained from the King of Golcondah for the extension of the English trade.

The Company's factories on the Coromandel Coast, from the relation which their exports had to the trade at Bantam, and from furnishing articles for the Europe investments, were becoming of more importance. Mr. Joyce, one of the factors at Bantam, had been sent to make an application to the King of Golcondah for an enlargement of the privileges of the English trade in his dominions: — this application had been successful, and a new Phirmaund obtained, granting permission for trade at the different ports of the Golcondah dominions, nearly on the same terms with that of 1632. On the basis of this new grant, the factory at Masulipatam projected the fixing an Agency at Verasharoon, situated about forty miles north of Masulipatam, at

(1) Letters from the Agent and Council at Ispahan to the Court, [illegible] May, 13th October, and 24th November 1634.

CHAP. I.
1634-35.

at which it was expected, coarse Coast cloths might be purchased, at reasonable rates. As the Phirmaund from the King of Golcondah had restored the factory at Masulipatam, it was also expected that articles, suited to the Persian trade, might be obtained, to the amount of £20,000 per annum, and, therefore, that it would not be necessary to incur any farther charges on the factory at Armagon, which was already protected by a battery of twelve guns. (1)

The Agency at Masulipatam first attempt the trade to Bengal, on the basis of the Phirmaund obtained from the Mogul, in the preceding year.

Mr. Norris, one of the factors at Masulipatam, had been sent to Bengal, to avail himself of the Emperor, Shah Jehan's Phirmaund, to open a trade at the port of Pipley, and reported, that all kinds of provisions for subsisting the Company's factories on the Coromandel Coast could be purchased in Bengal, at reasonable rates, and an indefinite quantity of fine white cloths, suited equally for the English, and for the Persian and Southern markets;—the Phirmaund, therefore, of Shah Jehan, in 1633-34, and the report of Mr. Norris, in this season, ascertain the period at which the English opened a trade in Bengal. (2)

The Agency at Bantam restored to the rank of a Presidency, and the Agencies on the Coast and in Bengal made subservient to it.

The Agency at Bantam, at this period, having been restored to the rank of a Presidency and Council, and the Agencies on the Coast, and in Bengal, made subservient to it, the trade assumed a new and more promising aspect: and this Presidency reported, that Coromandel cloths had so ready a sale at Bantam, and

(1)—Phirmaund granted by the King of Golcondah to the East-India Company, in 1634 or 1635. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked F. 1, unbound, page 173).——Letters from the Agent and Council at Masulipatam to the Court, dated 25th October 1634.

(2)—Letter from Agent and Council at Masulipatam to the Court, 25th October 1634.

CHAP. I. 1634-35. and at the Southern markets, that they constituted a kind of medium of exchange, for the purchase of pepper and the finer spices; but, as the white cloths of Bengal did not sell at Bantam, they had been forwarded to Maccassar, at this time the only station at which cloves (from the obstruction of the Dutch) could be procured: and that the Coast cloths had been sent to Japan and to China, where they could be readily exchanged for the produce of those countries. If, however, this trade was to be prosecuted, eight vessels, of from two hundred to three hundred and sixty tons each, must be built, and employed in it, and assortments sent from England, of fine broad-cloths, lead, glass, and hardware, or knives, which would sell at Japan and China, and facilitate the exchanges in trade. (1)

(1)—General Letters from the President and Council of Bantam to the Court, 1st December 1634, and 31st January 1634-35.

1635-36.

CHAP. I.
1635-36.
Sir William Courten obtains a licence from the King to form an Association for trade to India.

Though the public opinion was fixed, respecting the importance of a navy, for the protection of the kingdom and of its trade, parties were divided in opinion on the method of obtaining resources for supporting it. The royalists approved of the ancient forms, and their opponents contended, that the money had been raised by means repugnant to the liberties of the subject. One division of the fleet put to sea, under the Earl of Northumberland, and obliged the Dutch (without admitting the right) to pay a compensation for the privilege of fishing:—another division proceeded against the pirates of Sallee, whose depredations had so long been subjects of complaint, and succeeded in capturing and destroying them. These events, though apparently foreign to East-Indian affairs, were unexpectedly connected with them, by licences having been given, to obtain resources for the navy, to an Association, of which the King was the immediate Protector, to fit out ships, and send cargoes to the East-Indies, contrary to the Charter and privileges of the Company; and this circumstance, could not but depress the efforts, and abridge the equipments of the season.

In the foreign transactions of the preceding year, it was stated, that a truce had been concluded, in May or June 1634,

CHAP. I. 1635-36. between the Viceroy of Goa and the President of Surat, which had led to a cessation of arms, between the Spanish-Portuguese and the English, in the East-Indies :—the truce was to continue in force, in India, for six months after the rejection, or acquiescence in it, by the Kings of England and Spain. Captain Weddel, who had sent notice of this event to the Court of Directors, and had returned to England, about the close of the year 1634, entered into a scheme with Sir William Courten and Endymion Porter, Esq. one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to the King, of establishing a separate trade to the East-Indies, from which they hoped to draw large profits, by carrying out Europe goods to the Portuguese settlements in India, and bringing home Indian produce from them, for sale in England; that is, to draw from the truce all the real advantages it could be supposed to yield, and leave the London Company to struggle under all the disadvantages which they had experienced, from the opposition of the Portuguese ;—evincing by this conduct (what will, in the sequel, so frequently occur) that among the difficulties and rivalships which the London Company had to meet, and to overset, those from their own servants, who had made their fortunes in their employment, have been the most formidable.

It became necessary to find some pretext for granting a licence, so directly in opposition to the Charters and exclusive privileges conferred by Queen Elizabeth and King James; and though this pretext might have been devised by speculators in England, who were strangers to the expensive and continued efforts

efforts of the London Company, to establish and fortify seats of trade within their limits, yet when the project came from their own servants, who had been abroad, and who must have derived benefit from their protection, it was found to rest on a direct falsehood, attested by men who were fully instructed in the actual state of the Company's affairs.

CHAP. I. 1635-36.

The preamble to the first grant to Sir William Courten, &c. (which was dated the 12th December 1635) proceeds upon assertions, which all the preceding evidence, in this review of the transactions of the London Company, positively contradicts, or, "that the East-India Company had neglected to establish fortified factories or seats of trade, to which the King's subjects "could resort with safety;—that they had consulted their own "interests only, without any regard to the King's revenue;— "and, in general, that they had broken the conditions on which "their Charter and exclusive privileges had been granted to "them." (1)

Company petition the King against this licence, as an infringement on their chartered privileges.

When the Court of Directors discovered that this Association of Interlopers (which in the sequel will be described as *Courten's Association*) had equipped four vessels, and engaged the Company's naval and mercantile servants, as officers and supercargoes, and that they were to proceed to the East-Indies, under authority, they were brought into the embarrassing situation of offering remonstrances to the King against his own licence. Alarmed at the danger in which their factories and trade were placed, they presented a petition to the King, praying that they might be

(1)—Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii. page 372.

CHAP. I. 1635-36.

allowed to take their remedy at law against the person and estate of Mr. Courten, (Sir William Courten having died soon after the passing of the grant), for any act which his ships or servants might commit in India, contrary to the Charter and exclusive privileges of the Company, granted by Queen Elizabeth, and confirmed by King James I., and then sent instructions to the Presidents and Councils at Surat, and at Bantam, and to their Agents in Persia, to refuse encouragement or assistance to these interlopers. (1)

Company's equipments limited, and their instructions to their foreign settlements general.

Though the number of ships, and the amount of the stock sent from England by the East-India Company, in this season, cannot be traced; it appears, from the nature and objects of the instructions given by the Court to their foreign factories, that neither were considerable. The instructions recommended that every effort should be tried, to procure pepper and the finer spices, for facilitating the Coromandel trade, and that to Persia; and though the successive plans which had been adopted, for enlarging the Company's profits by extending their exchanges in the East, had been disappointed, and their losses had hitherto been great, yet the Court were resolved to keep up the different branches of their trade, and to make the whole subservient to the purchase of investments for Europe, to consist of pepper and spices, Coromandel

(1)—Petition of the East-India Company to the King against Courten's Association. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, without date, Nos. 158, 159).—— Letters from the Court to the President and Council at Bantam, 29th February 1635-36. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, No. 3—185).—— Letters from the Court to the Agents and Councils in Persia, 25th May 1636. (No. 3—201).

mandel and Surat cloths, and silks and other Persian commodities, from Gombroon, in which latter country the factors were ordered to dispose of the English goods in store, at such prices as they would bring, and to vest the produce in Persian silks.

CHAP. I. 1635-36.

As explanations had taken place between the Crowns of Spain and England, on the basis of the truce between the President of Surat and the Viceroy of Goa, the Agents in Persia were directed, notwithstanding the continuance of hostilities between the Portuguese and Persians, to avoid becoming parties, or affording assistance to either;—and letters were sent by King Charles to the King of Persia, requesting his protection to the English, and the improvement of the commercial relations between the two countries.[1]

The Presidency of Surat form a Convention with the Viceroy of Goa.

The situation of the President and Council of Surat, in this season, was materially changed, by the truce entered into, in the preceding year, with the Viceroy of Goa; and the events which led to this change are explained to have been, that from having had a controling power over the Company's trade, on the West of India, and in Persia, they had, at Surat, experienced much oppression in the trade of that port, from the Mogul Governor,

(1)—General Letters from the Court to the Presidency of Bantam, 19th February 1635-36, and to the Agent and Council at Ispahan, 25th May 1636. (MSS. in the India Register Office, No. 8—185, 201).

CHAP. I. 1635-36. vernor;—and in their efforts to support the Persian trade, from the insidious schemes of the Dutch, to depress their credit. To obviate both difficulties, and to bring the investments for Europe more directly to bear on the home sales, they found it expedient to improve on the truce, and to enter into a regular Convention with the Portuguese Viceroy.

This Convention was concluded at Goa, between the English President, Mr. Methwold, in person, and the Viceroy of Goa, on the 20th January 1635-36, on the basis of the treaty between England and Spain, of the 15th November 1630, and, like the truce, was to continue in force, for six months after the determination of the Crowns of England and Spain, on the subject, should be known in the Indies.

The Surat Presidency proposed, in future, to limit the English trade to four annual ships, two of which would find a lading at Goa, while the other two would either complete their investments at the other Portuguese ports, or at the English factories on the Coromandel Coast, or Sumatra. (1)

In prosecution of this plan of trade, the Presidency formed a factory at Scindy, and were soliciting a Phirmaund for settling a factory at Dabul: they built two pinnaces at Daman, and two at Bassein, for the Coast trade; and tried a new experiment, or that of sending a pinnace, with a small investment, to Bussorah, situated at the bottom of the Persian Gulf, and subject to Turkey, and not liable to any questions with the Persian

(1)—General Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 29th January 1635-36.——Copy of Convention between the English and Portuguese at Goa, 20th January 1635-36. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office No. 160).

sian government. On the subjects of the trade to PERSIA, they submitted, that from the uncertainty of the King's Phirmaunds in their effects, it would be necessary to try what quantity of silk could be procured, by a fair competition, in the sale of Indian and Europe goods, in the Persian ports, and not to renew the contracts for that article with the King. (1)

CHAP. I. 1635-36

The Presidency of Bantam recommend that the fortifications of Armagon may be strengthened.

The report from the President and Council at BANTAM, after adverting to the Convention between the English and Portuguese, intimated that their own trade was assuming a more favorable aspect, from the general attention and civilities of the King, who, however, would not grant them permission to build a factory ;—that since the restoration of their rank, as a Presidency, they had taken a general view of the Company's affairs, not only at Bantam, the seat of their trade, but at its dependencies (Maccassar, Japarra, Jambee, Banjarmassin, Coast of Sumatra, and Coast of Coromandel), and had found, that the remains of the Company's estate amounted to 344,938 rials. This view of the Company's affairs induced them to recommend the propriety of being furnished with instructions to extend and improve the fortifications at ARMAGON, because a strong place of retreat on the Coromandel Coast (like that which the Dutch had at Pullicat) had been found, by experience, to be the only means of acquiring a share of the Coromandel trade, of so much importance in the Eastern markets, and to the investments for Europe. (2)

(1)—General Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 6th March 1635-36.

(2)—General Letter from the President and Council of Bantam to the Court, 31st January 1635-36.

1636-37.

CHAP. I.

1636-37.

Company disapprove of the Convention with the Portuguese, and petition that a Declaration should be obtained from the Crown of Spain, admitting their rights.

THOUGH the Court of Directors had not, in the preceding year, received information of the Convention concluded in the West of India, between President Methwold and the Viceroy of Goa, in time to take the subject into consideration, the transactions of this season open with the alarm of the Company, at the principle on which this Convention had been founded, and on its probable effects on their factories and trade in the East-Indies. On looking at the basis of the Convention, or the treaties between the Crowns of England and Spain in 1630, and in 1604, the Court decided, that the trade of the two countries could not rest on these treaties, because, at those early periods, the English and Spaniards had no reciprocal interests in the East-Indies.—The Court, therefore, addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, in which they requested, that before the Convention should be finally approved, his Majesty would be pleased to apply to the Court of Spain, for a Declaration, on which the Company might ground their instructions to their Presidents and Councils in the Indies: and, that they might not neglect any means in their power, they addressed several letters to Lord Aston, the English Minister at Madrid, for his good offices in procuring such a Declaration from the King

of

of Spain, as would enable the Company to act on it, and promised, that they would readily acquiesce in any reasonable conditions, which might be calculated to fix amicable relations, between the Spanish-Portuguese and the English factories and trade, in the East-Indies. (1) CHAP. I. 1636-37.

Company petition the King for redress, for the depredations of Courten's ships in the East-Indies.

The licence given by the King to Courten's Association, in the preceding year, had created considerable agitation in the public mind, and had induced the Court of Directors to frame remonstrances against the Interlopers, whom they held to be invaders of their Charter and exclusive privileges. In this situation, it is not improbable, that the subject might have remained for this season, as the civil commotions were beginning, which proved fatal to the public interests ; but on the arrival of one of the Company's ships from Surat, with information, that one of Courten's vessels had seized on two junks, belonging to Surat and Diu, had plundered them of their property, and exposed the crews to torture, and that, as soon as this event was known at Surat, the President and Council had been seized and imprisoned, and the Company's property confiscated, to make good the losses of the owners of the junks, the Court presented a memorial to the King, stating the sufferings of their servants, and their

(1)—Letter from the East-India Company to the Secretary of State, relative to the Convention of Goa, 1636. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 106.)——Letter from the Governor and Deputy Governor of the East-India Company to Lord Aston, Ambassador to the King of Spain, 3d March 1636. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 114.)

CHAP. I.
1636-37.

great losses, which must terminate in the ruin of the East-India trade, unless his Majesty should interfere in their behalf, and be pleased to take the illegality of the licences, and their consequences to the East-India trade, into his consideration. The subject was referred to the Privy Council, on the 6th January 1636-37

The Privy Council delay taking the subject into consideration, but recommend, that letters should be written by the King, to the Governor of Surat, disavowing these depredations.

The Privy Council, instead of admitting the truth of the narrative, or that the outrage had been committed by Courten's ships, were of opinion, that the business should be suspended till the return of these ships, when an investigation of the transaction should take place; but that, in the mean time, the King should issue his letters to the Governor of Surat, disclaiming any powers having been given to English vessels to commit depredations, and desiring the release of the Company's servants and property. It was intimated, by a separate note, to the Court of Directors, that they must suspend any proceedings at law, till the arrival of Courten's ships in England (1).

This event the source of the subsequent piracies in India.

This event is, perhaps, of consequence, not so much from the immediate effect of it, as from its having been the first instance in which the Interlopers, or Private Traders, were permitted to carry on a kind of regulated commerce to the East-Indies, and, under their licence, had been charged with, or had been guilty of depredation, which struck at the root of all the Phirmaunds,

(1)—Petition of the East-India Company to the King, complaining of piracies committed by Courten's ships, and Order of Council thereon, 6th January 1636-37. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, Nos. 108, 109).

Phirmaunds, or Grants, which the London Company had procured, by heavy expences, from the Mogul Government; and from its having been the source of those oppressions, and that injustice, by the native powers, which, in the sequel, often interrupted, and frequently endangered, the existence of the trade of England to the East-Indies:—nor was this the only consequence, for when these Interlopers were detected, and subsequently punished, Pirates, who could not be brought to justice, arose out of this example, the suppression of whom required, for more than half a century, the united efforts of the Crown and of the London Company. CHAP. I. 1636-37.

The subordinate instructions of the Court to their servants abroad were in this season, chiefly directed to one point, or to the conduct of their Agents on the Coromandel Coast, who had acted without due subordination to the President and Council at Bantam, by diverting part of their purchases in Coast goods to the Persian trade, instead of sending goods to Bantam, to purchase pepper and the finer spices; and for having expended large sums, in obtaining Phirmaunds from the King of Golcondah, and risked still larger sums, by granting credits to the native merchants and weavers:—the Court, therefore, enjoined them to confine the Coast trade to their export of cloths to Bantam, and to the proportion of them required for the Europe investment. (1)

(1)—Letter from the Court to the Agents and Factors on the Coast of Coromandel, 27th October 1636. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, No. 3, p. 209).

CHAP. I. 1636-37.

The trade at Surat suspended, by the interferences of Courten's ships.

The Presidency of SURAT, while they were proceeding on the new plan of trade, explained in their communications of last year, reported to the Court, that the whole of their measures had been disconcerted, by the arrival of Captain Weddel and Mr. Mountney, the chiefs of Courten's Association; who, in fact, had come out to draw all the profits which had been anticipated from the Convention of Goa, leaving only to the Company to trade under restraints, the removal of which had been the chief object of this Convention.

Correspondence between the President of Surat and Captain Weddel, commander of Courten's ships.

When these Interlopers arrived, the President and Council of Surat had not heard of the reception which the Convention had met with, in England, either by the Directors, or by the King, and could not comprehend the appearance of the ships of Courten, giving themselves out to be a new East-India Company, under the protection of the Crown. Captain Weddel addressed a letter to the President and Council of Surat, on the 29th August 1636, notifying his arrival at Johanna Roads, and his intention to proceed directly to Goa, and forwarding a copy of King Charles's letter, dated 30th March 1636, addressed "to the "President of the London East-India Company in the Indies," intimating that, under his authority, six ships, under the charge of Captain Weddel and Mr. Mountney, had been sent on a voyage of discovery to the South Seas, and that in this measure the King himself had a particular interest, and desiring that the President,

in

in case of distress, should afford those ships every assistance. Captain Weddel added his own wishes, of being on good terms with the Company's establishments.

On receiving this unexpected and extraordinary notice, the President and Council, in reply, informed Weddel and Mountney, that they could not give credit to the intelligence of a new East-India Company having been erected in the King's name, as they had neither received information, nor instructions for their conduct from the Court of Directors;—that such an institution was, in itself, incompatible, because two commercial Companies, from the same country, could not attempt to carry on trade in the East-Indies;—that, with regard to the establishments of the London Company, they were under great distress, as they had not recovered from the calamities of war and famine;—that the President and Council at Surat had been seized and imprisoned for two months, and the Company's property taken possession of, to compensate for a depredation committed by an English vessel, not in the Company's service, which had plundered a Surat junk in the Red Sea;—and that the Company's servants had only been released, on condition of paying 1,70,000 rupees, and coming under the obligation of an oath, not to molest the Mogul ships:—without, however, charging the pretended new Company with this attack, the President desired to know, what limits the King had assigned to it, and in what particulars its privileges differed from those of the London Company. Under this distress, and with a rival, whose character they could not comprehend,

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comprehend, we can trace the true source of the suspension of the trade at Surat, during this season.(1)

New contract for silk with the King of Persia.

It had been a question at Surat, whether it would not be more expedient, by simple purchase and sale at GOMBROON, to obtain Persian silks, than to renew the contract with the King of Persia:—in this year, however, Mr. Gibson, the Agent at Ispahan, had presented a petition to the King, for payment of the arrears of silk, and received a favourable answer, and this event had induced him, on the 16th July 1636, to form a new contract, for three years. By this contract, the King agreed, that a thousand loads of silk should be delivered to the English, within this specified time, for which they were to pay forty-two Tomands, or above £126 sterling, per load, one-third in ready money, and two-thirds in broad-cloths, kersies, and tin. This agreement discovers, that, notwithstanding the Convention with the Portuguese, and the opposition from the Dutch, the English Agents were authorized to retain a proportion of the Persian trade.(2)

The trade on the Coromandel Coast begins to be productive.

The trade on the COROMANDEL COAST, this season, from the factors having received supplies of stock from Bantam, was assuming a more favourable appearance; for the factors at Masulipatam informed the Court, that they should be able to furnish investments in Coast cloths, annually, to the amount of from £40,000 or £50,000 sterling, and for this purpose, they would require a proportion of broad-cloth, lead, and vermilion, and a regular

(1)—Letters between the President and Council of Surat and Captain Weddel, 29th August and 24th October 1636.

(2)—Letter from the Agent and Council at Ispahan to the Court, 22d January 1635-36

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a regular supply of gold and silver, and, in general, that the returns would amount to £80,000 per annum; but that, to enable them to carry on this trade, an additional number of factors and writers, properly qualified, would be required from England, and permission given to build and employ two small vessels, as coasters:—in their transactions, however, they had been exposed to the oppression of the native Governor and officers at Masulipatam, who, with the Dutch, were endeavoring to excite the prejudices of the King of Golcondah against them, notwithstanding the Phirmaunds which he had so recently granted for their protection.(1)

The Presidency of Bantam opens a trade for pepper, at Palambang and Banjarmassin.

The President and Council of BANTAM, in their communications of this season, represented the great importance of the Coromandel trade to that of Bantam, and the Southern stations, and repeated their opinion of the necessity of strengthening Armagon, because this port was the best security the Company could have, for the preservation of their privileges, on the Coromandel Coast;—that the amount of pepper obtained at Bantam, had been inconsiderable, not only from their want of stock and shipping, but from there having arrived from Holland, not less than twenty-two large ships, with proportionate stock:—with the view, however, of keeping up the trade, they had sent a small vessel on an experiment, to Banjarmassin, which had returned with a hundred and fifty thousand pounds weight of pepper;—that they had fixed a station

(1)—Letters from the Agent and Council at Masulipatam to the Court, 20th September and 1st December 1636.

CHAP. I. station at Pallambang, having obtained from its chief, permission
1636-37. to erect a factory, from which they hoped to receive, annually, five hundred tons of pepper;—that, at Bantam, the King continued to refuse them permission to build a factory, or additional store-houses, but had continued his general protection; and that he still was at war with the Dutch, though, from the pacific disposition of their new Governor General, Van Diemen, the prospect of a peace was becoming more probable.(1)

(1)—Letter from the President and Council at Bantam to the Court, 20th December 1636.

1637-38.

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1637-38.
Privileges, nearly equal to those of the Company, conferred on Courten.

The disputes in England, had discouraged the Directors of the London Company, from taking those decisive measures (which, by their Charter and exclusive privileges, they were entitled to do, to ward off the evils which they foresaw must arise) from the protection afforded to Courten's Association. The information which the Company had received, of the seizure of their property, and the imprisonment of their servants, at Surat, in consequence of the depredations on the Mogul junks, alleged to have been committed by Courten's ships, had compelled them to address a remonstrance to the Privy Council, from which they could only obtain a promise of the King's letter to the Governor of Surat, disclaiming any powers having been granted to Captain Weddel, and others, to commit such depredations, and that an enquiry would be instituted into the case, as soon as those ships should return to England. The Directors, formerly, could only send instructions to their servants abroad, to withhold any assistance or encouragement to Courten's factors or shipping:—in this year, this precaution became ineffectual, because the question had assumed the more serious form of two Companies; as Mr. Courten had obtained privileges almost equivalent to those which the London Company enjoyed.

 To

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1637-38.

To bring this subject into distinct view, it must be recollected, that Courten's project had arisen out of the convention between Surat and Goa, and that his professed object was, to open a trade with places in the East-Indies, to which the Company's shipping had not resorted, that is, to participate in the advantages which might arise from this new opening to the Portuguese ports.

Company's petition and remonstrance to the Crown referred to the Attorney General, and others, to report on;

Several of Courten's ships had returned to England in this season (1637-38), and as they brought home large investments, the sales of which produced considerable profits to the adventurers in the Association, the subject alarmed the Directors, as threatening, not only the safety of their Joint Stock, but the preservation of those seats of trade, which, with so much perseverance, and at such great expences, constituted the whole of their dead stock;—a stock which must be irretrievably lost, if a check should not be given to the proceedings of this domestic rival, and if lost, must endanger the existence of the direct trade to the East-Indies, and place the whole in the hands of the Portuguese and Dutch, against whom they had, for so many years, struggled.

Under these circumstances, the Company presented a petition to the Crown for protection, which was referred to Edward Herbert, Esq. the Attorney General, Sir Abraham Shipman, Philip Burlamachi, Esq. and others, with instructions to take the subject of East-India affairs into their consideration, and to report the result. The Company, in this petition, represented, that they had experienced the greatest hardships from the oppressions

pressions of the Portuguese and Dutch, and had, for a series of years, though ineffectually, been soliciting the aid of the Crown, for compensation, and for redress of grievances;—that they had, first, by a truce, and next by a Convention, been endeavouring to accommodate their differences with the Portuguese, both in Persia, and at Surat, at which, from the recent famine and the oppressions of the native officers, their affairs were in a desperate situation;—that by the interferences of Courten's shipping at home, their sales had been clogged, and that they had been compelled to sell their saltpetre to Government, below the value;—that, from the payment of excessive customs, from the rivalship of the Dutch in Europe, and from the new Association, the Company's trade had almost been ruined;—that although the present Joint Stock amounted only to £425,000, the Company had, to support the trade, expended above £800,000, and still farther sums would be requisite, which could not be raised without the King's protection, and the removal of those discouragements, with which their trade had been burdened;—and that they could not conceive any better means could be devised, for carrying on the East-India commerce, than by a Joint Stock, under the management of a Governor, Deputy, and twenty-four Committees, or Directors, authorized and protected by the Crown. (1)

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This

(1)—Answer of the Governor and Court of Directors of the East-India Company to a Declaration exhibited to His Majesty, respecting the East-India Trade, 1638. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, Nos. 133, 134).

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1637-38.
— but the grant to Courten confirmed:

This representation was offered, at the time when a new grant to Courten was in agitation, and was followed by a second petition, stating that the Company trusted no new powers would be given to this Association, contrary to the Charter of the London Company, or in opposition to the instructions they had sent to their factories, in the preceding season;— that Captain Weddel, and his associates, might be enjoined to confine themselves to such ports, within the Company's limits, as did not interfere with their established factories and trade;— and that the Company might be allowed to institute prosecutions against Courten and his associates, for any irregularities which their ships might commit, and which might expose the Company's servants, and their property, to retaliation by the native powers.(1)

This strong representation of the East-India Company, and their subsequent petitions, do not appear to have had any effect on the King or Council, for a new grant was issued, in June 1637, to Courten's Association, by which the King confirmed the former privileges given to them, and allowed them to trade, for five years, to all places in India, where the Old Company had not settled any factories or trade, before the 12th December 1635; and with permission to export, during the said term, £40,000, in gold and silver bullion, to India, and to re-export India goods, free of customs. In this grant, William Courten, Esq.

(1)—Petition of the East-India Company to the King. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, No. 79,—38).

Esq. was substituted in place of his father, Sir William Courten, who died soon after the passing of the first grant.(1)

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On receiving this new grant, Courten's equipments proceeded; and when they were ready for sea, in the spring of 1637-38, a letter was addressed by Sir Francis Windebanck, Secretary of State, to the Governor of the London Company, signifying to him the King's express command, that orders should be given to all the Captains of ships, and other servants of the East-India Company, not to trade at Batticolo (where Courten had settled a factory) or to any other parts on the Coast of Malabar and the Indies, where Mr. Porter, Mr. Courten, or their agents, had established their trade.(2)

— and the Company enjoined not to trade at the ports where Courten had established factories.

The impression which these events, and this letter from the Secretary of State, made on the Governor and Court of Committees, appears from the strong language in which, on the following day, the Court drew up their general instructions to the President and Council at Surat:—they say, "Wee could "wish that wee could vindicate the reputacon of our nation "in these partes, and do ourselves right, for the losse and "damage our estate, in those parts, have susteyned; but of all "these wee must beare the burthen, and with patience sitt still, "untill we may find these frowning tymes more auspicious to us "and to our affayres."

Despondency of the Directors on this occasion.

In

(1)—Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xx, page 146.—— Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii, page 372.

(2)—Letter from Sir Francis Windebanck to the Governor of the East-India Company, dated 15th March 1637-38. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 115).

CHAP. I.
1637-38.
Their order to the Surat Presidency to persevere in the trade.

The Court directed the President and Council to persevere in the Surat trade, notwithstanding the authorized interference of Courten's Association;—acknowledged the receipt of a large quantity of silk from Persia, but that it was in a damaged state; —and desired that they might continue their efforts to obtain pepper from Goa, and even allowed them to grant bills on the Court, for any spare money which Captain Weddel might wish to leave with them, or to purchase produce from him, at reasonable rates; —and, that the trade might be encouraged, on the Coromandel Coast, from the importance of the exchanges of piece goods in the Javaa nd Sumatra markets.(1)

Depressed state of the Company's trade, in this year, from the interferences of Captain Weddel.

The state of the Company's affairs abroad, in this season, can only be collected from the information which the Court received from PERSIA, and, indeed, from the circumstances under which SURAT was placed, at the close of the last season, more particularly by the embarrassment from Captain Weddel's interferences, it was not possible to make up investments, in any degree proportioned to those of preceding years.

Frauds of Agent Gibson in Persia.

The events in PERSIA unfold the reasons of the low state of this trade. Mr. Gibson, who had been Agent in Persia, died this season, and on examining his books, it was discovered, that instead of applying the Company's cash to the promotion of their trade,

(1)—General Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Surat, 16th March 1637-38. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, vol. iii. 1634 to 1658).

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trade, he had lent four thousand Tomands, or above £12,000 sterling, to the Dutch, which had enabled them to obtain silk, and to bear down the English purchases of that article. This fraud had disgusted the Persian government at his successor, who informed the President and Council of Surat, that unless a new Agent of character should be appointed, the trade must be ruined, and that the diminution of the Customs at Gombroon must be ascribed to this delinquency; — that, however, the accidental circumstance of the Dutch having borrowed money from the Armenian merchants, to the large amount of £100,000, and not having stock to discharge this debt, had roused this powerful class of people to make an application to the Court, to stop the export of silk by the Dutch, till the money due to them should be paid.

President Fremlen's report on the Persian trade.

While the trade at Surat, and in Persia, was in this embarrassed situation, President Methwold returned to Europe, and had been succeeded by Mr. Fremlen, who, on taking a view of the distressed state of the trade at both ports, had proceeded to Gombroon, at which he arrived in December 1636, and reported to the Court,—that the Persian market had hitherto not been properly understood, either in its imports or exports, for broad-cloth would sell fifty per cent. better at Surat, than in Persia, and less profit would accrue from the exchange of cloth, than from the simple purchase of silk, with money;—that the experiments which had been made, of a trade between Masulipatam and Gombroon, had been profitable, and if properly supported, might be rendered more productive;—and that the

CHAP. I. 1637-38. the trade between Gombroon and Tatta, which was better understood by the Persians, might also be improved, and have a profitable result; and, therefore, that a new system of regulations, for the management of the Persian trade, must be devised and enforced, otherwise the Phirmaunds, and high charges expended in acquiring them, would be unavailing;—and that, at the close of the season, the Dutch still remained in debt to the Persians twenty-one thousand Tomands, or £65,000 sterling, and would not be permitted to ship a single bale of silk, till this debt should be discharged.

These general descriptions of the Company's affairs, in which no reference is made to the state of their trade, either on the Coromandel Coast, or at Bantam, were, by no means, sufficient to enable the foreign Presidencies to take measures, for invigorating their declining commerce, more particularly when they learned, that on Captain Weddel's delivering King Charles's letter to the Viceroy of Goa, permission was granted to him to hire a house, and to land his goods, though from jealousy of the English, he was not allowed to remain longer in that port, than till the end of the monsoon.(1)

(1)—Letters from the Agents and Councils at Ispahan and Gombroon, 18th July and 5th October 1637, and 13th January 1637-38.

1638-39.

CHAP. I.
1638-39.
Company petition the King for an arrangement of their trade with the Dutch, and with Courten's Association.

The dissentions in Britain, between the parties which, on political subjects, divided the nation, in this year appeared under different forms in England and in Scotland:—in England, parties were employed in promoting their claims of rights; in Scotland, parties were contesting for the form which the established religion in that kingdom should assume. Reference to these subjects is made, because they discover the difficulty with which the London Company could apply to the Crown, either for its interferences with the States General, to obtain redress from the Dutch, or from Courten's Association, whose fleets had proceeded to the East, under a protection almost equal to that by which the London Company had originally been established, and under which they had, for a series of years, at much expence, and with many risks, maintained a direct trade to the East-Indies.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the London Company persevered in their application to the King and Privy Council, for their interferences to adjust the disputes with the Dutch, and for having a distinct line of conduct assigned them, with respect to Courten's Association.

CHAP. I.
1638-39.
Referred to a Committee of the Privy Council, to suggest a plan for an Union between the Company and Courten's Association.

The Governor and Directors were heard before the King and Privy Council, on the 25th May 1638, on the subject of their grievances, when the King was pleased to appoint a Committee, consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl Marshal of England, the Earl of Dorset, Lord Cottington, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary Coke, and Mr. Secretary Windebanck, under instructions, to take into their consideration the propositions which the Company might offer, on the subject of the trade;—to form regulations for this trade, which might satisfy the noblemen and gentlemen, who were adventurers in it, that their stock had been properly managed;—to vary the principle on which the India trade had been conducted, or that of a general Joint Stock, in such a manner, as to enable each adventurer to employ his stock to his own advantage;—to have the trade under similar regulations with those observed by the Turkey, and other English Companies;—to consider how the differences with the Dutch might be accommodated, to his Majesty's honor, and to the satisfaction of the Company;—and to devise a plan for uniting Courten's Association with the Company, without prejudice to his Adventurers;—and, in general, to report from time to time, to his Majesty, on these subjects. (1)

This reference discovers, not only that the King and Council were satisfied the claims on the Dutch were well founded, but that

(1)—Order of Council regarding the East-India Trade: (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, 25th May 1638. No. 116).

that an opinion began to be entertained, that the continuance of Courten's Association, and the London Company's trade, was incompatible, and that the only method of remedying an evil, of which complaint had been made by the Company, would be, to recommend an union between an established corporation, and a licensed association of private merchants.

CHAP. I. 1638-39.

Present a second petition, when the King promises to renew their Charter.

This Committee do not appear to have made any report on the subjects referred to them, as the Company were again under the necessity, in September following, to present another petition to the King. To this petition his Majesty was pleased to declare his pleasure, as follows :—to the first request, that justice should be done on the employers and commanders of the two ships sent to the Red Sea, for their piracies, the King decided, that a committee should be immediately appointed to investigate that business, and on their report, the Company should have satisfaction, according to law :—to the Company's second request, to be released from payment of the new customs on East-India commodities, and for a longer time than one year, for exportation of their goods, reference was made to the Lord Treasurer and Lord Cottington, to examine the East-India Committees, and the Farmers of the Customs, and to report to the King their opinion on this point :—to their third request, that the King would interpose his authority with the States General, to obtain some satisfaction from the Dutch, and some station in the Molucca and Banda Islands, conformably to the treaty of 1619, it was answered, that the King had already entered into negotiations regarding that treaty,

 as

CHAP. I. 1638-39. as some of the Company well knew :—to their fourth request, or that the King would be pleased to renew the Company's Charter, with additional privileges, it was answered, that "his "Majesty was pleased nowe to expresse his gracious intentions "to renew the said Companies Charter, and to grant them such "fit enlargement of their priviledge, as may bee for their en-"couragement, and the better government of their trade." (1)

Statement of losses sustained from the Dutch.

The Company having received the King's assurances, that he had entered into negotiations with the States General, to obtain redress of their grievances they drew up, at the close of this season (March 1638-39) a statement of losses by the Dutch East-India Company, since the explanatory treaty of 1622, under the heads of general losses at Polaroon, in Batavia, and at Jaccatra and Bantam, amounting to £214,798; besides particular losses at Bantam, and in the spice trade, and at Surat, amounting to £177,000, and the injuries to the State, by the plunder of the native subjects of Polaroon, to the amount of £125,000; leaving his Majesty, to seek reparation, as matter of state, for the injuries sustained by the Massacre at Amboyna, and the obstruction given to the privileges the Company had acquired, and purchased, in Persia. (2)

The

(1)—Order of Council, signifying his Majesty's declaration on the Petition of the East-India Company, dated Oatlands 2d September 1638. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 118).

(2)—Abstract of Grievances sustained by the East-India Company from the Dutch, 13th March 1638-39. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 120.)

CHAP. I.
1638-39.
Effect of the proceedings of Captain Weddel on the Company's trade.

The situation of affairs at the foreign settlements, this season, (1638-39) can best be collected, from the proceedings of Captain Weddel, with the ships of Courten's Association, in his interferences with the Company's trade, and from the effect which his irregularities produced on the native powers, in prejudicing them against the trade of the English.

It will be recollected, that when Captain Weddel sailed from England on his second voyage, he was rendered independent of the London Company, by the new grant to Courten's Association, and empowered to form distinct factories and trade:—On his arrival at Goa, (at which port, from having been a Company's servant, he was known), he fixed an agency, and commenced trade:—from Goa, he proceeded to Batticolo, at which he also fixed an agency, and obtained part of his investment:—from this port he stretched over to Acheen, at which he got a grant for a factory, and having money, as part of his stock, purchased produce:—from hence he proceeded to Canton, where he met with opposition from the Chinese and Portuguese, and, in revenge, attacked a fort at Canton, which he carried, and collected about seventy bales of China goods, but, on account of this violence, had been obliged to leave the China Seas, and to return to Masulipatam to refit:—here, again, he had recourse to violence, and though he got part of his investment, he was not permitted to settle an agency at that port, but subsequently

CHAP. I. 1638-39.

sequently fixed one at Rajahpore, in the King of Visiapore's dominions.(1)

Presidency of Surat mediate a peace between the Mogul and the Portuguese.

With such a rival, and, at the same time, having to struggle against the Dutch, accidental events supported the Company at SURAT, rather than the shipping or stock, which had arrived from England;—a new Governor (Mirza Mulk) had been appointed, and having been directed by the Mogul to come to terms with the Portuguese, and restore peace, he had applied to the English President to become mediator, and to assist him in the negotiation. This event obtained protection for the English, and facilitated their sales and purchases; — the President, however, explained to the Court, that the war between the Mogul and Portuguese had, on the whole, been favorable, both to the English and Dutch, because the Surat merchants would not trust their goods in the Indian shipping, but had sent them, on freight, on board English and Dutch vessels, by which they had derived the profits of the carrying trade.(2)

New silk contract in Persia.

The Company's trade in PERSIA, had received support, from the effect produced on the King, on receiving King Charles's letter, and the pictures of the Royal Family, an incident which

(1)—General Letter from the Presidency of Surat to the Court, 29th December 1639. ——Letter from the Agent and Council at Masulipatam to the Presidency of Surat, 26th July 1638.

(2)—General Letter from the Presidency of Surat to the Court, 15th January 1638-39.

which Mr. Merry, the new Agent, had endeavored to improve by entering into and obtaining a new contract for silk, one Phirmaund for the fulfilment of it, and another, to enable him to recover the debts due under the old contract. On this encouragement, Agents had been dispatched to the different provinces, in which silk could be procured, but had been obliged to make large presents to the different Persian ministers.

The customs at Gombroon, this season, had been inconsiderable, from the low state of trade, and from a collusion which the Agent had suspected, between the English commanders, the factors on shore, and the Persian officers, which it would be his object to trace, and to prevent, in the subsequent season, and he hoped for support from the favorable disposition of the Ettaman Dowlut, or Vizier, though he was apprehensive he might be checked by the Shahbunder, who was inimical to the English.(1)

Armagon found an unfavourable situation for trade.

The Company's trade on the COROMANDEL COAST, at this juncture, had experienced repeated checks, from the oppressions of the officers of the King of Golcondah, who had prevented their receiving from the native merchants and manufacturers, the goods for which they had contracted, and from no attention having been paid to the solicitations of the Agents for relief. Under these circumstances, the Agent at Masulipatam stated, that though Armagon was a necessary station for preserving the Company's stores, its situation was not favorable to the increase of

(1)—Letters from the Agent and Council at Ispahan to the Court, 21st April and 12th November 1638.

CHAP. I. 1638-39. of commerce, and that it would be expedient to select some other place on the Coast, which, from being better situated, would enable the English to acquire a larger share in the Coromandel trade.(1)

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Council at Masulipatam to the Agent at Golcondah, 26th April 1638.—— Letter from the Agent and Council at Masulipatam to the Presidency of Surat, 17th May 1638.

1639-40.

CHAP. I. 1639-40.

Company renew their petitions to the King and Council.

If the struggles between the parties, which now assumed a more regular character, had, in the preceding year, obliged the London Company to confine their domestic transactions to petitions to the King and Council, for redress of grievances from from the Dutch, or from the interferences of Courten's Association, the situation of the Government, in 1639-40, was daily becoming more unfixed and perilous. A civil war, in Scotland, had commenced, against which the King called on his English subjects for military support, but this war terminated by a treaty, which left the royal interests weakened, and the opponents of the King more firmly established in their projects.

While public affairs were in this situation, the East-India Company again presented a petition to the King, in which they enumerated their grievances, nearly in the same terms, as in the preceding season; and concluded by stating the absolute necessity they should be under, of abandoning the trade, unless the protection they prayed for was afforded them. This petition appears to have so far attracted the attention of Government, that the claims of the Company, and of Courten's Association, were referred to a Committee of the Privy Council, who were directed to investigate the business, and to report

CHAP. I. 1639-40. on it, that the King might be enabled to declare his pleasure on the subject.[1]

The King resolves to revoke Courten's licence, and to renew the Company's Charter, on condition of their raising a new Joint Stock.

This Committee of the Privy Council having called before them the Farmers of the Customs, the principal Adventurers in Sir William Courten's Association, and the Governor, Deputy, and Committees of the London Company, and having investigated their several claims and demands, made a report to the King, on the 2d November 1639, who, on the 10th December following, was pleased, in presence of Mr. Courten, the Farmers of the Customs, and the Committees of the East-India Company, to declare his pleasure on the petition of the London Company, on the following points:—that in respect to the wrongs and injuries done by the Dutch, the King had proceeded so far in the treaty, for the Company's satisfaction, that the same was now in a fair and hopeful way of accommodation;—that, with respect to the depredations committed by Cobb and Eyres, in the Red Sea, the King allowed the Company leave to right themselves, by the ordinary course of law;—that, in regard to the customs or imposts, the King was pleased to grant the Company the same liberty, in point of time, for exportation, as formerly, and to allow them, from six months to six months, for payment of duties;—that, His Majesty would revoke all Patents, formerly granted, for plantations beyond the Cape of Bona Speranza, and grant no more of the same kind; allowing,

(1)—Petition of the East-India Company to the King, and Order in Council thereon, 27th October 1639. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, No. 3—215).

allowing, only, to Mr. Courten and his adventurers, reasonable time to withdraw their settlements, and to bring home their goods and shipping;—and that a new Subscription should be entered into by the East-India Adventurers, for carrying on the trade on an extensive Joint Stock; and when such Subscription should be completed, His Majesty would renew the Company's Charter, and grant such additional privileges as might be found necessary and expedient "for carrying on soe greate and important a "trade." A Court of the Generality, or Proprietors, was to be immediately summoned, at which, by the King's command, Lord Cottington was to be present, to declare to them His Majesty's gracious intentions in their favor.[1]

CHAP. I. 1639-40.

Conditions of the projected Fourth Joint Stock.

On the basis of this declaration of the King, it became necessary for the Governor, Deputy, and Committees, to meet the Adventurers in a General Court, for the purpose of submitting to them the Preamble for a new Joint Stock, as one of the conditions upon which His Majesty was disposed to renew the the Company's Charter and exclusive privileges, with such additional powers as would enable them more effectually to carry on their trade. This Preamble proceeded on the frequent calls which the Proprietors had made on the Court, to close the former, or Third Joint Stock, and to bring home the remains, on account of the difficulties which the trade had experienced, from the infringements on the Charter, by Courten's Association, in England, and from the oppressions of the Dutch

(1)—Order in Council, relative to the East-India trade, 10th December 1639. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 123).

CHAP. I. 1639-40. Dutch, and Courten's ships, in the East Indies;—it was therefore proposed, on account of the encouragement and protection which had been promised them, and the prospect of re-establishing their settlements and trade, to raise a Subscription for a new, or *Fourth Joint Stock*, on the following conditions:—

1st. That the Subscription should be paid in four years, and that it should be determined, by the majority of subscribers in a General Court, in what manner, and by whom, the same should be managed;—the managers to be elected annually. 2d. That the subscription should be open to all persons, as well foreigners as English, till the 1st of May 1640, and the instalments paid quarterly. 3d. That in case of default of payment of the instalments, one and a half per cent. per month should be levied, as a fine, till such payment should be made. 4th. That no Englishman should be allowed to subscribe less than £500, and no foreigner less than £1,000. 5th. That if any Englishman should buy any share, after the books were closed, he should pay £20, and a foreigner £40, as a fine, for his freedom, to the proposed new Company. 6th. That to prevent inconvenience and confusion, the old Company, or Adventurers in the *Third* Joint Stock, should have sufficient time allowed for bringing home their property, and should send no more stock to India, on that account, after the month of May 1640. (1)

The

(1)—Preamble to a Subscription for a new Joint Stock for Trade to the East-Indies, 28th January 1639-40. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 124).

CHAP. I. 1639-40.

The state of the Company's affairs, at this crisis, discovers, that the King and Council had become sensible of the impracticability of preserving the direct trade to the East-Indies, by any other means, than by a chartered Company, with exclusive privileges, as the Patents to Courten were to be withdrawn; and, that without a New Joint Stock, to invigorate the trade, the losses which the Company had sustained, from domestic and foreign rivals, had been so great, that unless they should be recovered, the trade, even on new and large funds, could not be preserved.

Trade at Surat depressed, by the Dutch searching Company's ships for Portuguese property, and by Courten's shipping.

Though the improved situation of the Presidency of SURAT, in the preceding season, originating in the desire of the Mogul government to come to terms of peace with the Portuguese, and the selection of the English President, as the mediator in the negotiation, had placed the Company's trade at Surat in more favorable circumstances than it had been for years, the complaint of the oppressions of the Dutch, at this time, assumed a new aspect. Instead of opposing the English by commercial projects, or intrigues with the native powers, they asserted their right of searching the Company's vessels on the Malabar Coast, and, at the same time, carried on an active war against the Portuguese, in which the English had neither shipping nor authority to assist their allies, under the Convention; the President, therefore, stated that unless reinforcements should arrive,

CHAP. I. 1639-40. arrive, Goa was in danger of falling into the hands of the Dutch. At Surat, and along the whole range of the Malabar Coast, the Company's trade was, from this aggression of the Dutch, exposed to obstruction and to plunder; and, in such circumstances it had become indispensible to obtain some station, where their servants and property could be in safety, against any attacks which might be made on them. Rajahpore appeared to be (with the exception of Bombay) the best station, if a fort could be built, and a proper guard fixed at it; but, in the meantime, they had remained at Surat, and kept up the factory at Scindy, which promised to be an useful station for obtaining cloths, both for the English and Persian markets.

The obstructions to trade had also been increased on the West of India, by the interference of Courten's factors and shipping :— Captain Weddel had landed his goods at Rajahpore, and got permission from the Governor to send an Agent, with a present, to the King of Visiapore, to solicit a Phirmaund for trade in his dominions, who had been so favorably received, that Weddel had made a quick investment of pepper and saltpetre, and this would render his voyage so profitable, that he would, probably, on his return to England, solicit the enlargement of his privileges. The Company's Resident at Rajahpore, protested, as this port lay to the north of Goa, that the attempt of Captain Weddel to interfere at it, was contrary to the King's licence for his trade;—but disregarding this protest, Capt. Weddel settled factories at Batticolo and Carwar; encroachments which the Presidency could not prevent, from not having a force sufficient

cient to resist them: it was, therefore, submitted, that measures should be adopted in England, to put a stop to the encroachments of Courten's people, and, at all events, to confine their trade to the southward of Goa. With, however, the exception arising from the proceedings of the Dutch and Courten's people, the Company's trade at Surat, this season, had on the whole been prosperous, and in particular, a very large and cheap investment of indigo had been made at Agra. (1)

CHAP. I. 1639-40.

Effect of the new regulations for the Persian trade.

The effect of the new regulations, which were introduced by the President of Surat, for the trade in PERSIA, and the orders of the Court to sell off their furniture at Ispahan, and concentrate their trade at Gombroon, began now to be felt. Phirmaunds had been obtained by the Agent at the Persian Camp, for the delivery of two hundred and sixty-five loads of silk, and for the payment of the arrears of customs at Gombroon:—in this situation, the Agents hoped to obtain the whole of the silk contracted for, but were apprehensive that it would be difficult to bring the Persian ministers to enter into a new contract. At Gombroon, the customs had annually decreased, from the fraudulent dealings of the Shahbunder, and from a misunderstanding which had taken place between the King of Persia and the Mogul, who had prohibited his subjects from trading to that port. (2)

The

(1)—General Letters from the President and Council at Surat to the Court, 28th January and 26th February 1639-40.

(2)—Letters from the Agent and Council at Ispahan to the Court, dated 3d December 1639, and 28th February 1639-40.

CHAP. I.
1639-40.

Phirmaund obtained from the King of Golcondah, for additional privileges of trade at Masulipatam.

The embarrassed situation of the Company's trade at MASULIPATAM, induced that Agency to represent to the Court, the necessity of obtaining some station on the Coromandel Coast, that would be more favorable to trade, and at which their servants and property could be placed in greater security:—and repeated the opinion, that the fortifications at Armagon ought to be continued, for the protection of the trade on that part of the Coast. Another Agent had been sent to the King of Golcondah, who had obtained a Phirmaund, for a free trade to the English Company in his dominions, and prohibiting his subjects from again withholding the goods for which they had contracted, or refusing the payment of debts due to the Company, In these applications the Agent had been opposed by the Dutch, who, notwithstanding the large presents which they had made, had not been able to obtain a Phirmaund, equally favorable with that granted to the Company.

The Naig of Madraspatam offers permission to the English to settle at that port, and the Portuguese at St. Thomé friendly to the project.

Though these Phirmaunds had so far relieved the Agent and Council at Masulipatam, they still persevered in the plan they had submitted to the Court, of finding a situation on the Coromandel Coast, better calculated for the protection of the trade than Armagon:—for this purpose they sent Mr. Day, one of the Council, to examine the country in the vicinity of the Portuguese station of St. Thomé, who reported, that MADRASPATAM was a situation, at which, in his opinion, the best Coast goods could be procured, and that, on his application to be permitted to establish a station at it, the Naig of the district had offered to build a fort, at his own expence, at which, if the English would

would settle, they should be exempted from all customs on trade. This offer the Agent at Masulipatam recommended to the attention of the Court, as proper to be accepted, without delay, more particularly as the Portuguese at St. Thomé had behaved in the most friendly manner, and had offered to give every assistance in forming this establishment. (1)

CHAP. I.
1639-40.

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Council at Masulipatam to the Court, 28th October 1639.—— Phirmaund from the King of Golcondah, granting privileges of trade to the English Company, dated in August 1639. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked F., unbound, page 195).

1640-41.

CHAP. I.
1640-41.

The necessities of the Crown oblige the King to take the Company's store of pepper on credit, and to sell it at a reduced price.

THE events, in Great Britain, in this year, tended to unhinge the whole frame of the established government;—the charges of conducting an army against the Scots, obliged the King to assemble a Parliament, conceiving, as his opponents in Scotland had been detected in a correspondence with the King of France, that the jealousy of the English of foreign interference, would induce the Parliament to grant him supplies:—in this expectation he was disappointed, and afraid of losing the only resources on which he had hitherto relied, he dissolved it, after a session of only twenty-two days. This event encreased the discontents, and having broken off with the Scots, led to the ineffectual treaty of Rippon. In this emergency a new Parliament was summoned, to which the King made every possible concession, but without effect; and these transactions prepared the kingdom for a civil war.

Amid such complicated distress, we have to look to the conduct of the East-India Company, struggling to preserve their privileges, and, if possible, to uphold their trade.

Among the expedients to which the King, in his necessity, was obliged to have recourse, and which immediately affected the East-India

CHAP. I.
1640-41.

East-India Company, was his obliging them to sell to the Crown, the whole pepper which was in store, in their warehouses, amounting to 2,310 bags, or 607,522 lbs., which was bought by the King, on credit, at 2*s.* 1*d.* per pound, or £63,283. 11*s.* 1*d.*, for which four bonds, of £14,000 each, and one for £7,283, were given by the Farmers of the Customs, and Lord Cottington, to the Company, and one of these bonds was to be paid regularly every six months:—this pepper was sold by the King to different merchants, for ready money, at one shilling and eight-pence per pound, or £50,626. 17*s.* 1*d.* (1)

Report to the King on the failure of the projected subscription for a Fourth Joint Stock, and petition for redress of grievances.

This expedient, to which civil commotions alone could have induced the King to resort, could not but affect, independently of all other circumstances, the Subscriptions to the new Joint Stock, required in the preceding season to be the basis, upon which the Charter and exclusive privileges of the Company were to be renewed and enlarged; and it is interesting, in the reasons which the Company gave for the failure of this Subscription, to observe, that the sale of the pepper, on credit, is not mentioned; which can only be explained, by the expectation of favors being obtained from the Crown, and from that reserve which the public confusions necessarily imposed on the minds of men, habituated to act on the principles of mercantile caution.

In the memorial presented, this year, by the Company to the Privy Council, they introduced their account of the failure

 of

(1)—Statement of the Pepper bought of the East-India Company by the King. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 125).

CHAP. I. 1640-41. of the Subscription, by recapitulating the substance of the Order in Council of the 10th December 1639, and stated, that as the new Subscription amounted only to £22,500 (which was totally incompetent to carry on the trade) it now became their duty to inform His Majesty and the Council of the failure of this project, that other measures might be devised for supporting the East-India trade, and preventing its falling entirely into the hands of the Dutch, and that, to the following causes, might be attributed the unwillingness of the Proprietors, or Adventurers, to enter into the new Subscription, *viz.*—that no recompence had hitherto been obtained for the injuries suffered from the Dutch;—that no trade could, with safety, be carried on with the East-Indies, unless specific regulations should be settled by public treaty with that nation; — that whatever restitution or recompence might be obtained from the Dutch, it should be made in Europe, because, in the East-Indies, the English were unable to cope with them by force, as they were, at this time, attacking Goa, the Capital of the Indian possessions of the Portuguese;—that the very heavy duties, or customs, levied in England, precluded them from following up the trade, on equal terms with the Dutch;—that, notwithstanding the Order in Council, Mr. Courten was fitting out ships from England, and establishing factories in the East-Indies;—and that regulations had been introduced, relative to the internal management of the Company, by the Order in Council, particularly in the election of the Governor and other officers, which the generality of the Adventurers would not approve.

These

These events, and this plain statement of facts, affecting the domestic situation of the East-India Company, at this crisis, afford a view, not only of the sources of the grievances which they had experienced, but the true cause, why the only means, by which their trade could have been restored, or a *Fourth Joint Stock*, could not be raised. This circumstance is farther interesting, in a public view, as affording evidence of the important services which the Company had rendered to the public, by forming, and by continuing to uphold, a valuable branch of the trade of the nation, at a crisis, when the convulsions of the State were affording an opportunity to the other maritime powers of Europe (in a particular manner to the Dutch, whose power, at this time, was so paramount in the East) to overwhelm equally the credit, and the speculations, of interlopers, or licensed English merchants. CHAP. I. 1640-41.

The embarrassments of the Presidency of SURAT, from the power which the Dutch had assumed, of searching English vessels, and, in general, from their asserting an exclusive right of trade along the Malabar Coast, had led the President and Council to recommend the necessity of fixing on some station (as Rajahpore) at which the servants and the property of the Company might be protected. The project, however, does not appear to have proceeded on any fixed plan, except that of selecting some place, at which such a station might Embarrassment of trade at Surat;

CHAP. I. 1640-41. might be established;— the President, on this occasion, stated the difficulty he had found, in carrying the Court's orders into effect, for opening a trade, by the Indus, to Scindy and Lahore, for the purchase of cottons and other Indian articles, at a cheaper rate than at Surat, because the Dutch were giving high prices, for large investments, and because the quantity of cloths required by the pilgrims, who had proceeded in great numbers to Judda and Mecca, had raised the prices; the expectation of receiving Malabar goods from the connexion with the Portuguese, had, also, been disappointed, from the Dutch shipping and force being greater than that of the Portuguese and English united, and from the country ships having been exposed, to the Dutch, who, without discrimination, had captured them, and carried the crews prisoners to Batavia :— farther, that the expedient of employing Surat seamen in their coasting vessels had not answered, because they discovered to the native Governors the particulars of the cargoes, and, in the event of an attack, refused to defend the ships :—these circumstances had made an unfavorable impression on the natives, who, on all occasions, abandoned that European nation whose power appeared to be on the decline.

At the close of the season, the Presidency, having received information that the King was disposed to afford protection to the Company, both against the Dutch, and against Courten's Association, and that the Adventurers had been called on for subscriptions to a new Joint Stock, suited to the exigencies of their foreign trade, had adopted measures in expectation of

resources

resources from this fund, for providing large investments for the ensuing season, but requested, that a supply of men might be sent in each ship, qualified to navigate, and to command the coasting vessels upon which the Malabar trade depended. (1)

and in Persia, by Courten's Agents and the Dutch.

The effect of the new regulations which had been introduced by the President of Surat, during his survey of the trade and ports in PERSIA, and the Company's orders to withdraw the Agency from Ispahan, and to concentrate the trade at Gombroon, would probably have restored the trade of Persia to its former extent, notwithstanding the bribes and negotiations of the Dutch at Court, had not, in this season, Courten's ships and Agents arrived at the Persian ports:—the Company's Agent, on this occasion, represented, that the infringements made on the Phirmaunds which the Company had obtained in Persia, by these Agents and shipping, added to the weight which the Dutch stock and shipping had acquired, had given to them a preponderance in the market, and, therefore, unless effectual measures should be taken in England, absolute ruin, not only in this quarter, but of the English trade, in general, must be the consequence in every part of the East-Indies. Under such circumstances, the Agent and Council had found it indispensable to continue their residence at Ispahan, till they should receive a confirmation of the Court's order to withdraw from it; and, should this reach them, they submitted the necessity of

(1)—General Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, dated 29th December 1640.

CHAP. I. 1640-41. of the Residency being fixed at Shiras, the heats at Gombroon being so violent, as to have produced a great mortality among the Company's servants.

At Gombroon, the factors had received two hundred Tomands, in part of the arrears of the customs of the former season, and estimated the customs of the current year at five hundred Tomands:—if, however, the Company would resolve to employ force (and every other expedient had failed) the Agent was of opinion, that their proportion of the customs might be raised to six thousand Tomands per annum.(1)

Trade opened at Bussorah.

In the year 1639-40, and while the Presidency of Surat, as well as the Agent in Persia, were making every effort to defend themselves against the Dutch and Courten's Association, Mr. Thurston and Mr. Pearce had been dispatched on a voyage of experiment to Bussorah, with the object, if possible, of opening a trade in the Persian Gulf, at a port not subject to that monarchy, and at which it might be more practicable to counteract the Dutch, by influence in Europe. These Agents arrived at Cong, in Persia, in April 1640, reached Bussorah on the 31st May, and obtained a licence from the Turkish Bashaw to land their goods, under more favorable circumstances than any other European nation enjoyed. To this market they reported, that Turkish goods, of all descriptions, were brought from Aleppo, by Caravans, but that the sale of Europe goods did not afford much encouragement, the whole of

(1)—Letters from the Agent and Council at Ispahan to the Court, 5th and 10th June 1640.

CHAP. I.
1640-41.

of their cargo not producing more than thirty thousand rials, owing to the arrival of a large Portuguese fleet from Muscat, by which the market had been glutted:—but submitted to the Presidency of Surat, that if the trade to Bussorah should be persevered in, it would be necessary to fix a permanent factory at that port, which would give the Bashaw more confidence in the trade with the English, than could be expected from single and contingent voyages.(1)

Madras taken possession of by the Company's Agent, on a grant from the Naig of the district, and Fort St. George erected.

It had, for a series of years, been the opinion of the Agents at Masulipatam, that a fortified situation on the Coromandel Coast was required, to afford protection to the Company's servants and property, both against the Dutch, and the native Governors, and, upon this principle, Fort Armagon had been erected; but, in the two last seasons, the trade in piece goods had not been found productive at this station, and, in the preceding year, an Agent (Mr. Day) had obtained an order for trade from the Naig of the district, in the vicinity of St. Thomé, and the offer of building a fort at Madraspatam, at which the English factors would be in security.

The station of Madraspatam was considered to be of such consequence, that, without waiting for the Court's orders on the subject, Mr. Day, who had made the original agreement with the Naig, commenced the building of a fortification, at the expence of the Company, allowing the town to retain its Indian appellation, but giving to the fort the name of Fort St. George.

(1)—Letter from the Factors at Bussorah, to the Presidency of Surat, 22d June and 18th August 1640.

CHAP. I.
1640-41.

As soon as the strength of this fort offered a security to the native workmen and merchants, they resorted to it, and expectations were entertained, that large and profitable assortments of piece goods might be procured at this place, suited equally to the markets at Bantam, and in Europe.(1)

The President and Council of Bantam make exertions to preserve that trade.

Whether the Company's affairs at BANTAM had, in the preceding seasons, been embarassed, from not having received supplies from Europe, or whether the Court, during the confusions in England, had been unable to relieve them, or had not received intelligence of the actual circumstances of this branch of their trade, it is difficult to ascertain; but it would appear, that the President and Council had, for several years, persevered in the trade, as in this season (1640-41) they reported, that the experiment of obtaining pepper at Banjarmassin had failed;—that their principal reliance for that article, was on Jambee, at which port they had in store four hundred tons, ready for the ships on their arrival;—and that, though the pepper crop had failed at Bantam, from excessive rains, they had dispatched the Cæsar, with nearly five hundred tons, for England, on account of the Third Joint Stock.(2)

(1)—General Letter from the President and Council at Surat to the Court, 29th December 1640.

(2)—Letter from the President and Council at Bantam to the Court, 17th November 1640.

1641-42.

CHAP. I
1641-42.
The appearances of civil war render the applications of the Company to the Crown, unavailing.

THE disputes between the King, and the opponents to his prerogative, which, in the preceding season, had threatened commotions, dangerous to the peace of the realm, in this season, unhappily augmented, and led to those trials, which were so fatal to distinguished individuals, and to those measures, which were not less fatal to the ancient usages of the constitution. In the Annals of the East-India Company, we have only to refer to these events, to account for the suspension of the applications which the Company had made for redress of grievances, by the Dutch, or for protection against Courten's Association; for, at the close of the season, the King had retired to York, and the civil wars, in fact, were approaching.

Company apply to Lord Cottington, and to the House of Commons, for payment of the bonds granted by the King, as security for the Pepper Debt.

In the preceding season it was mentioned, that the King, in his distresses to find money to support his authority, had purchased the whole of the pepper, in the Company's warehouses, on credit, for £63,000, and had sold it, to different merchants in London, for ready money, at an inferior price. As a security, bonds had been granted by the Farmers of the Customs, and by Lord Cottington; and as those Farmers were more immediately bound to pay this debt by instalments, at specified times, the Company now pressed them to make good their obligations, and

CHAP. I. 1641-42. they, of course, applied to Lord Cottington, for relief, under whose influence they had signed the bonds. In the letters of the officers of the Customs to Lord Cottington, of the 20th January 1641-42, they stated, that although the Company had been paid £13,000, or that amount had been deducted from the duties owing by them, there was still due £22,500, and another bond for £14,000 would become due in the ensuing March :—the Deputy of the Company, and the Committees, on that day, had demanded payment, and threatened to put the bonds in force, and arrest the Farmers of the Customs, who declared themselves utterly unable to discharge the debt; and therefore prayed Lord Cottington, (as he had pledged himself, that even his lands should be sold unless the Company were paid), that immediate steps might be taken for the payment, consistently with honor and justice.(1)

In this situation, the Company presented a petition to the House of Commons, stating that there was now due to them, on the Pepper Debt, above £47,000, and as the customs due by them amounted to above £12,000, prayed that this sum might be allowed, in liquidation of part of the debt, and measures taken, to enable them to recover the remainder, of which they were in much want, being under a very heavy debt at interest.(2)

(1)—Letter from the Farmers of the Customs to Lord Cottington, respecting the Pepper Debt to the East-India Company, 20th January 1641-42. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 125).

(2)—Petition of the East-India Company to the House of Commons, relative to the Arrears of the Pepper Debt. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 143).

These events shew, that, at home, the Company had to struggle equally against the grievances from the Dutch, and against Courten's Association, and that their foreign settlements were left to uphold the trade, by such expedients as they could devise, without deriving any aid from their superiors in England.

The Presidency of Surat, on hearing of the separation of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal, form a Convention with the Viceroy of Goa, for mutual defence.

The expectations communicated by the Court to the Presidency of SURAT, at the close of the preceding season (1640-41), had raised the hope of protection from the King, and supplies from the new, or *Fourth Joint Stock*:—these hopes not having been realized, from the events which were taking place in England, we have to follow up the series of temporary measures, for preserving those privileges which the Phirmaunds of the Mogul had given, and that inferior portion of the trade, which the Dutch had not, hitherto, been able to wrest from them.

The separation of the crowns of Spain and Portugal had taken place in the year 1640, the intelligence of which reached the East-Indies in this season; the Presidency of Surat, therefore, anticipated, that the Portuguese settlements in the East-Indies would, on reverting to that sovereignty under which they had been originally established, become of such consequence to its resources, that they would regularly receive supplies of money, and of troops, for their defence. Though the States Ge-

neral

CHAP. I. 1641-42. neral had acquired their independence, in consequence of a war with Spain, in Europe, and had, while Spain and Portugal were united under the same sovereign, just grounds for wresting from the Portuguese their settlements in the East-Indies, now that Portugal was again a separate kingdom, the Dutch could not make war on their settlements in the East-Indies, without, at the same time, openly declaring war against their European dominions.

The President and Council of Surat, on this occasion, dispatched one of their ships, with an Agent, to Goa, to congratulate the Viceroy, on the accession of the House of Braganza to the Crown of Portugal, and, at the same time, to solicit his permission to fix an Agency at Goa, for the purpose of purchasing assortments of Malabar goods, pepper, cardamoms, &c., and to represent, as a Convention had been made for mutual support and accommodation, between the London Company's settlements and those of the Portuguese, that the ships and Agents of Courten's Association ought to be excluded from the Portuguese ports.

To induce the Viceroy to accede to these propositions, the Presidency of Surat accompanied their application with a review of the existing power and commerce of the Dutch in the East-Indies, and an estimate of their European investments, with the number and force of their fleets, and the resources which had enabled them to acquire the command of the trade of Japan, China, and the Spice Islands; to take possession of Malacca, to raise the siege of Columbo, which the Portuguese would

would otherwise have taken, and to make prizes of their ships, and, in great measure, to keep Goa, the seat of their government and trade, in a state of blockade. CHAP. I. 1641-42.

The Viceroy of Goa had already been making exertions to revive and re-establish the ancient relations between the Crown of Portugal and the native princes and states; the Agent, therefore, offered the co-operation of the London Company, to preserve the relative trade and settlements of the two nations, till information should arrive of the measures of the two Crowns in Europe, who probably would fix some arrangement with the States General, for placing the interests of the three nations in the East, in future, in a state of greater security.

The Viceroy listened to these propositions, and a friendly intercourse was settled, as the dispatches to his Court were put on board one of the Company's ships, to be delivered either to the Portuguese Ambassador at London, or forwarded, according to circumstances, to Lisbon. (1)

Trade in Persia precarious, from its being unknown whether the King intended to protect the Company or Courten's Association.

The difficulties of the Company's trade in PERSIA were referred to the continuance of the intrigues of the Dutch, and to the interferences of Courten's agents and shipping:—the former were selling Europe goods at a loss, that they might engross the Persian produce, and the latter were raising doubts in the Persian Government, of the degree of protection which the King of England would give to the London Company.

(1)—General Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 27th January 1641-42.

CHAP. I. 1641-42.

Company. These circumstances, and the situation of the factory at Gombroon, the irregularities in that market, the difficulty of recovering debts, and the continued burden of making presents to the King, to procure Phirmaunds on each distinct subject, had frequently made the charges exceed the profits of the trade; but the Agents determined to preserve the right to the customs at Gombroon, which in this year, yielded seven hundred Tomands, though this sum was not equal to the Company's moiety, from the constant evasion of the Dutch, and the theft of the Persian merchants. (1)

The project of fixing a factory at BUSSORAH, had become more difficult from a civil war in that province; the President therefore sent the goods intended for Bussorah to Mocha, at which the market was open, and the articles better suited for the trade of India, and the investments for Europe. (2)

The Agency at Fort St. George rendered subordinate to Bantam.

It had been, not only an opinion of the Company's factors at MASULIPATAM, but of the Presidencies of Bantam and Surat, for several years, that the purchase of Coromandel Coast goods was of great importance for the Southern trade, and beneficial in the exchanges with Persia, and an important source of articles for the Europe sales; but, in the immediately preceding season, it was found, that though Fort Armagon was a station which

(1)—General Letter from the President and Council at Surat to the Court, 27th January 1641-42.—— Letters from the Agent and Council at Ispahan to the Court, 8th June 1641.

(2)— General Letter from the President and Council at Surat to the Court, 27th January 1641-42.

which could control the oppression of the native Governor of Masulipatam, and afford a retreat to the Company's servants and property at that port, yet that the goods obtained on this part of the Coast, were neither equal in quality, nor quantity, to those got at the Portuguese station of St. Thomé: and, therefore, a station was fixed at MADRASPATAM, and the building of FORT ST. GEORGE commenced.

It appears, from the Surat correspondence, that the Court considered the plan of establishing a station at Madraspatam to be hazardous, but, at the same time, had referred the expediency of continuing it, to the President and Council of Surat; who, from the superior quality of the piece goods obtained at this station, directed the establishment of Fort St. George to be continued;—and, as the commercial relations were more immediate between the Coromandel Coast and Bantam, this new station was, by the Court's order, to be subordinate to the latter Presidency. (1)

Presidency of Bantam borrow money from two Portuguese merchants, to purchase an investment.

The Presidency of BANTAM had, in the preceding year, reported to the Court, the failure of their experiments to obtain pepper and the finer spices, either at that station, or at its dependencies; but, in this season, they represented, that as they had not received money from England, or piece goods from the Coromandel Coast, sufficient to make the necessary purchases of pepper, they had been obliged, in order to complete their investment, to borrow six thousand rials from two Portuguese merchants,

(1)—General Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 27th January 1641-42.

CHAP. I. 1641-42. chants, but that, even with this fund, they had not been able to procure more than thirteen hundred tons of pepper at Bantam, and at the factories of Japarra, Banjarmassin, and Jambee, for the homeward-bound ships :—if, however, the Court would furnish them with the requisite supply of stock, shipping, and men, they could procure at Sumatra a full assortment of pepper for the Europe and Indian markets, without running the risk of obstructions or opposition by the Dutch. (1)

These details discover, at a period when the commotions and civil wars in England were depriving the Company of support from the Crown, and rendering an appeal to any other source impracticable, that the foreign Presidencies and factories of the London Company were, by laudable expedients, preserving, under many difficulties, the direct trade between England and the East-Indies.

(1)—Letter from the President and Council of Bantam to the President and Council of Surat, dated 2d August 1641.

1642-43.

CHAP. I.
1642-43.
Commencement of the civil war.

In the season 1642-43, the adherents to the Royal cause, and to the Parliament, assumed distinct and decided characters, and the confusions in Scotland, and the Irish Rebellion occurring at the same time, the fatal civil war, which was to overset the monarchy, commenced:— successive negotiations, for the purpose of abridging the prerogatives of the Crown, and establishing the claims of the Commons, terminated, from time to time, in the military transactions of the adherents of both; and though the King still endeavored to preserve the forms of the established government, his opponents succeeded in altering the ancient constitution, and laying the foundations of a system, which was more conformable to their particular interests and views.

The civil or military events, which occurred on this approaching change of the government, are sufficiently known, and require only to be appealed to, in the Annals of the East-India Company, to account for that uncertainty under which they were placed, both respecting their Charter and privileges, and the measures which they could devise for preserving the trade.

Company distressed, by the non payment of the bonds for pepper.

The exigencies of the King, in 1640-41, had obliged him, among other expedients, to purchase pepper from the East-India Company, on credit, to the value of £63,000, which was re-sold

CHAP. I. 1642-43. at reduced prices, and the Company, in the preceding season, despairing of that protection from the Crown, which, in better times, they might reasonably have expected, sought to preserve their own credit, by recovering this debt, and threatened to put the bonds of the Farmers of the Customs into force;—in this year, however, when the civil wars were commencing, and the unhappy King had been obliged to retire to York, we discover an interesting view of the Royal mind, to relieve his servants, who had entered into obligations to discharge this debt.

Lord Cottington, in a letter to the King, dated 1st April 1642, stated, that the Parliament had resolved to compel the East-India Company to repay the £12,000 they had received, as a deduction from the customs due by them, which obliged them to put the bonds in force, particularly his Lordship's, who purchased the pepper for the King; and as this must prove his utter ruin, he prayed His Majesty, that some measure might be adopted, to relieve him, and to satisfy the Company.

The King, willing to protect Lord Cottington, and, at the same time, to do justice to the Company, addressed a letter to the Commissioners of the Treasury, dated York, 12th April 1642, desiring them to send for the Governor and Committees, and to signify to them His Majesty's request, that they would forbear any proceedings, to the prejudice of those who had been bound in his behalf, and that they would devise some means, by which they might be satisfied, both for principal and interest of the debt due to them; and, on the same day, addressed a letter to the East-India Company, to the same effect.

The

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1642-43.

The Commissioners of the Treasury, in answer to His Majesty's letter, stated, that there was now owing by His Majesty, to the East-India Company, about £54,000, for liquidation of which they proposed, that as His Majesty had several parks, which were of little use and great charge, some of them might be sold, in fee-farm, reserving a small rent to the Crown;—that the King's rents of the manors of Bradbury and Hilton, in the Bishoprick of Durham, produced £500 per annum, and might be sold for £9,000 or £10,000, and that assignments for the remainder of the debt, might be made on the timber and soil of Dean Forest, which was valued at £7,000 per annum. (1)

Treasury propose to sell certain Crown lands, to pay off these bonds.

These events most strongly mark the cruel situation to which the King was reduced, and the distressed state of the Company's affairs, both in their rights and credit; and sufficiently explain the secrecy which had, for several years, been observed, respecting their equipments, and the amount of the money and goods which they exported, and the failure of subscriptions to the projected Fourth Joint Stock, which was to become the source of a renewal of their Charter and privileges. At last, some fund, to become a substitute for that stock, became indispensable;—relinquishing, therefore, at this crisis, any subscription, beyond what an immediate supply to the trade required, lest it should be exposed to risks, from the wants of the Crown

Subscription for the First General Voyage.

(1)—Letter from Lord Cottington to the King, 1st April 1642.—— Letters from the King to the Commissioners of the Treasury and East-India Company, dated 12th April 1642.—— Proposals for liquidating the Pepper Debt. (East India Papers in the State Paper Office, Nos. 125, 126, 127).

CHAP. I. 1642-43. Crown, or the demands of its opponents, the Adventurers formed a new Subscription, of £105,000, which they cautiously described to be, for the purpose of the *First General Voyage.* This Subscription, in part, corresponded with the project of the Fourth Joint Stock, which was to be paid by instalments, and applied to successive voyages, but on a narrower scale, to enable the Company to fit out one general voyage, for this season. The same distinction, however, was observed, as had been proposed, and had been introduced, between the Third and Fourth Stocks, or, to keep distinct accounts of them, as belonging to separate classes of Adventurers. The Court, therefore, intimated to the President and Council of Surat, that the stock and goods sent on this General Voyage, should be correctly distinguished from those which had been embarked on account of the former stock, and specified the proportions of the £105,000, which were to be applied to obtain investments at the different factories. The same instructions were repeated towards the close of the season, and the following orders added, on the manner in which the trade was to be carried on :—in general, to encrease the purchase of Coromandel cloths, the sales of which, at Bantam, it was hoped, would enable that Presidency to encrease the investments in pepper, and the finer spices ;— in particular, to maintain the Company's trade at Surat, and to improve the sales, both of Surat and Coast cloths, at Sumatra, from which profitable returns were expected. The purchase of Persian silks was to be discontinued, the price of that article, in Europe, having fallen so low, as to render the trade unproductive ;—

unproductive;— but agencies were to be continued at Ispahan and Gombroon, to dispose of the Europe and Indian articles in store, and to recover the Company's debts;— the trade to Mocha and the Red Sea, at the same time, was to be extended, as the articles obtained in that quarter had been found to be profitable in the Europe market. (1)

CHAP. I. 1642-43.

The trade at Surat revived, on receiving information of this subscription.

If the Presidency of SURAT had, in 1641-42, been disappointed in the funds from the new or *Fourth Joint Stock*, and in the expectations they had entertained of a new Charter, excluding Courten's Association, they, in this season, received information of the Subscription for the *First General Voyage*, and formed their accounts in such a manner, as to keep this fund distinct from the Third Joint Stock, which they were to wind up, agreeably to their instructions. They do not seem to have approved of the conduct of the President and Council at Bantam, whom they accused of having contracted much debt, and yet procured but scanty investments; but this complaint will be found to have proceeded from disgust at the new establishment at Fort St. George, and the Coast factories having been made subordinate to Bantam:—at the same time, they described the connexion between Surat and Goa to be improving, the

(1)—Letters from the Court to the President and Council of Surat, 29th November 6421, and 24th March 1642-43.—(Volume marked No. 22).

CHAP I. 1642-43. the Viceroy having declared his intentions to maintain amicable relations between the Portuguese and English.

The Company's trade at Surat, in this year, was productive, from having procured a large quantity of indigo from Agra, at rates which induced them to take up £20,000 at interest; —the purchases at Ahmedabad and Scindy had been considerable, both in cloths and indigo. A large supply of stock would, however, be required, without which the present favorable aspect of trade could not be preserved: and the Company must build ships of their own, for the Indian trade, rather than take up ships on freight, because, independently of the superior strength with which their ships would be constructed, the President and Council could exercise more authority over their own captains and officers, than over those of freighted ships. (1)

Accession of Sultan Abbas to the throne of Persia, and measures adopted for renewing the Phirmaunds.

The political situation of PERSIA, in this year, had changed, by the death of Shah Sephi, at Casbin, in May 1642, and the accession of his son, Sultan Abbas; the attention of the Agents, therefore, had been directed, in compliance with the usages of that government, to solicit the renewal, or rather confirmation, of the former Phirmaunds, and to renew the contracts. On both of these subjects, they had to struggle against the intrigues of the Dutch, but their applications had been favorably received by the new King, at Casbin, and the greater part of the Phirmaunds and contracts renewed and confirmed; they had not, however,

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 17th January and 20th March 1642-43.

however, been able to procure a grant for the redress of the frauds committed at Gombroon, which had precluded them from receiving the Company's proportion of the customs. CHAP. I. 1642-43

With respect to the Persian trade, in its connexion with India, the President and Council of Surat stated, that Decan and Coromandel goods formed a more profitable article of sale in Persia, than the English produce sent out by the Company, in the disposal of which they were undersold by the Persian merchants, who brought English cloths from Aleppo. (1)

First regular communication from Madras;

The first regular communication from MADRAS, or FORT ST. GEORGE, occurs in this season, in which the Agent and Council informed the Court, that though they regretted the building of Fort St. George had not met with their approbation, they, at the same time, represented, that if either the Coast or Carnatic trade was to be persevered in, the erection of this fort was absolutely necessary, it having been, by experience, found, that the strengthening the houses at Surat and Bantam, by fortifying them, had been the means of acquiring or recovering the trade, and that the example of the Dutch was a case in point, who, by fortifying Pullicat, had acquired a large share of the Coromandel trade:—in obedience to the Court's orders, the Agents at Madras would, in future, act as subordinate to the President and Council of Bantam; the chief factory on the Coast had been removed from Masulipatam to Madras, and it would be equally necessary

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, dated 17th January and 20th March 1642-43.

CHAP. I. 1642-43.

to bring all the Company's stations on the Coast to act in subordination to the Agency at Fort St. George.[1]

— and from Bengal.

In this season, also, the Company received its first regular dispatch from BENGAL. The same Agent, Mr. Day, who had been so successful in establishing the station at Madraspatam, had proceeded on a voyage of experiment to Ballasore, at which he found there had existed a regular and profitable coasting trade between the Coromandel Coast and Bengal, in which the exchanges of Coast for Bengal goods had yielded considerable profit; and, therefore, he recommended to the Court to fix a station at Ballasore, which, if well supplied with goods and money, would open a profitable trade, and, at all events, that it would be unwise, either to neglect, or desert the speculation of a trade in Bengal.[2]

Statement of the respective interest of the Third Joint Stock and First General Voyage, at Bantam.

The President and Council of BANTAM having, this season, received information from England, of the Subscription for the new or General Voyage, and the Court's instruction to keep the accounts of the Third Joint Stock, and those of this new fund, distinct, completed the account of the Third Joint Stock, and found, that the *desperate* debts with which it was burdened, at Bantam, and at the subordinate factories, amounted to 92,267 rials, and its quick stock to 109,800 rials, which, therefore, should be kept as a separate concern; meantime, that they would employ

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Council of Fort St. George to the Court, 5th November 1642.

(2)—Letter from Mr. Day to the Court, dated Ballasore, 3d November 1642.

employ every exertion to purchase pepper and spices, to form an investment for the First General Voyage. CHAP. I. 1642-43.

On taking into consideration the Court's orders of placing Madraspatam, as subordinate to the Presidency of Bantam, the President and Council had hitherto only been able to examine the charges incurred in building Fort St. George, which, with the Court, they held to have exceeded what ought to have been laid out on this project; but, at the same time, considered Coast cloths to be of the highest importance, in promoting the success of the pepper trade at Bantam, and at its subordinate factories. [1]

(1)— Letter from the President and Council of Bantam to the Court, 13th January 1642-43.

1643-44.

CHAP. I.
1643-44.
Effect of the civil war on the Company's equipments and trade.

If it was necessary, in the preceding year, to refer to the civil war which was threatening the existence of the monarchy, and raising its opponents to undefined power, we must, (in order to come at the circumstances which compelled the London East-India Company to seek immediate support from a limited subscription of the Adventurers,) refer, also, in 1643-44, to the civil war, which had become general over the three kingdoms, and to the varied success which attended the enterprizes of the Royalists, and of the forces which assumed the name of those of the Parliament; that we may bring into notice the embarrassments under which the useful arts and commerce were placed, and assign to the London Company the merit of having still kept up their shackled commerce and navigation, that they might preserve to their country its share, with the other maritime nations of Europe, of a foreign, and (had it been supported) valuable trade to the realm.

In November 1643, the East-India Company prepared, with the same secrecy and caution, their shipping and stock of money, and merchandize for the outward voyage. Whether the resources for either, were drawn from a part of the stock of the

the General Voyage, or from credit, does not appear, though, from the nature of the instructions given to the foreign Presidencies, the hope of supporting the trade appears stronger in this, than in the preceding year.

The trade chiefly directed to the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts.

In 1642-43, the Company were disposed to relinquish the silk trade, or that of Persia, and to confine the proceedings of their Agents to selling off their goods and getting in their debts; to try purchases at Mocha, and to push the trade on the Malabar and Coromandel Coast, to invigorate the trade at Bantam, that assortments of pepper and cloth might be brought into the Europe market. In 1643-44, the Court receded, in some degree, from this narrow system, for they gave instructions to the foreign Presidencies to endeavor to find out new markets, in the countries within their limits, at which produce might be obtained, suited to the home sales, particularly to enlarge the investment in indigo and piece goods; but explained, that their exports of British produce and merchandize could only be made on a low scale, from the public confusions having enhanced the prices, particularly that of the important article of lead, and, therefore, whatever they might have in store, might be raised in price, as the same causes, which prevented them from obtaining this article, affected the purchase of it, either by their foreign or domestic opponents.

After explaining this depressed situation of their affairs, they informed the Presidency of Surat, that they had built two new ships, expressly for the country trade, and had directed them to touch at Mosambique, and take in such articles as might be

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be saleable in India. With these, and the stock on board, they were first to proceed to Masulipatam and Madras, at which having made an investment of piece goods, one ship was to go to Surat, and supply the trade from that port with goods, suited to the demands of Gombroon or Persia, and the other ship was to proceed to Bantam, and there dispose of the Coast goods for pepper and spices; it being remembered, that the sums apportioned to each of these branches of trade, should not be diverted to any other channel or purpose, and that the general object of both should be, to make up a full and valuable investment for the Company's home sales.[1]

Competition between the English and Dutch, for obtaining Phirmaunds from the Mogul, and from his sons.

The plan which the Dutch had, for years, been pursuing, of directing their intrigues with the native powers, to undermine and subvert the privileges of the London Company, at SURAT, and, in general, on the West of India, in this year exhibited a more extensive line of influence; for besides negotiations with the Mogul, they now became jealous of the relations which had been established, between the Viceroy of Goa and the President and Council of Surat. At the Mogul's court, they had been profuse in their presents, both to that Sovereign, and to his sons, with the object of acquiring immediate and successive Phirmaunds, that if the throne should become vacant, their trade, in the different provinces and ports, might be protected by the successful

(1)—Letter from the Court to the President and Council of Surat, dated 17th November 1643.

successful competitor: considering, thus, the sums they paid, as all directed to the admission to the Mogul ports of their shipping and trade, and an exemption from the payment of customs, and obtaining a decided preference in the market over the English Company.

It is interesting to look, at this time, at the inferior light in which the Mogul and his sons held the commerce of the Europeans, when that profusion of presents, to which the Presidency refers, is estimated only at nine thousand rupees: this circumstance marks, also, the low state of the Company's funds, when the Presidency informed the Court that, on consultation, it had been resolved to make this advance of money, to follow the example of the Dutch, and make large presents to the Mogul and his sons, to induce them to grant to the English, similar Phirmaunds with those which the Dutch had acquired.

Jealousy of the Dutch of the connexion of the English with the Portuguese.

The jealousy of the Dutch, of the increasing amity between the Viceroy of Goa, and the Presidency of Surat, would appear only a contingency, if the form which it assumed did not lay open the sources of those negotiations, which, in a few years, we shall find terminating in the dereliction, by the Portuguese, of their power in the East-Indies, by reducing it to a few ports, on the acknowledgement of their exclusive right to the Brazils.

The Dutch Governor General at Batavia, Antony Van Diemen, at this time sent a Commissary, Peter Borel, to Goa, to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Viceroy, evidently with the object of weakening the relations between the Portuguese

and

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1643-44.

and English, which, he could not but observe, were becoming stronger, since the accession of the House of Braganza to the Crown of Portugal. Van Diemen was probably instructed from Europe, of the probable re-establishment of the political relations betwen England and Portugal, as this kingdom was again separated from Spain; availing himself, however, of the low state of the Portuguese force in the Indies, and particularly of the advantages which the Dutch fleet had gained over them at sea, Borel proposed, that the Portuguese should cede to the Dutch their possessions in the Island of Ceylon; but the forces of the Portuguese having been successful in that island, where, after a severe conflict, they had defeated the Dutch, and taken Negombo, the Viceroy rejected the proposition as inadmissible. As the cession of Ceylon was the basis on which the projected treaty was to proceed, the negotiation broke off, and the Dutch re-assembled their fleet off Goa, and renewed the blockade.

These events account for the difficulties under which the Presidency and Council at Surat were placed, independently of the low state of their funds, in making up their investments, which was farther depressed by Courten's shipping, which had established a factory at Acheen, and obtained a proportion of pepper. (1)

The Court's orders for the Persian trade, from the situation of that

As the Agency at Ispahan, though ordered by the Court to be relinquished, was, upon consultation, found to be necessary, for obtaining the Phirmaunds from the new King, which we left the

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, dated 17th January and 12th February 1643-44.

CHAP. I. 1643-44.

the Company's servants soliciting at Casbin, it was resolved to continue it, till specific instructions from the Court should be received, or positive orders from the Presidency of Surat, to which they were subordinate; and this necessity was rendered more urgent, by the importance of additional Phirmaunds to preserve the Company's right to the customs at Gombroon, and to recover the arrears;—it being remembered, that a Phirmaund from the King was uniformly requisite, either to confirm rights or to recover debts.

country could not be complied with.

Though these proceedings do not explain the actual state of trade in Persia, in this season, they discover that the Presidency of Surat had resolved to continue it, and to preserve the rights at Gombroon; and this resolution was farther confirmed, by their determination to continue the factory at BUSSORAH, which was beginning to yield advantages, and encouragement to continue the trade to the Gulf of Persia.(1)

The trade between Madras, Bengal, and Bantam, preserved.

From the communications between BANTAM and MADRAS, in 1642-43, it has appeared, that, notwithstanding the doubts which the Court had expressed, of the expediency of erecting Fort St. George, that at Bantam (subordinate to which Madras had been placed) and at Fort St. George, the opinion of the necessity of this station continued to prevail. At Bantam, the President and Council stated, that if it was intended to continue the

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Council at Ispahan to the Court, dated 11th August 1643.——Letter from the President and Council at Surat to the Court, dated 17th January 1643-44.

CHAP. I. 1643-44. the Coast trade, the fortifications at Madras, (the first independent station the English had acquired in India,) must be considerably increased, as this would have the effect of inducing the native artizans and merchants to settle in a town which would be under the English protection, and of which, in a short time, the revenues would be sufficient to defray the charges of the garrison ;—that the privileges obtained from the Naig were extensive, provided the Presidency of Bantam could furnish stock sufficient to invigorate the trade. In this season, however, the trade had experienced considerable embarrassments, from the prevalence of wars between the different Naigs, in the provinces adjoining the fort.

The connexion between Bantam and the Coast, and between Madras and Bengal, had been preserved, with a view to commercial exchanges ; the orders of the Court, therefore, were requested, whether the factory formed in Bengal should be continued or dissolved. At Bantam, the Presidency were protected by the King, and a considerable supply of pepper was this season expected, not only at this station, but from the subordinate factories, provided sufficient stock and goods should arrive from England, to facilitate the purchases of this article, and of the finer spices, described by the Court, to be of so much importance in the home sales.

In the Eastern Seas, the Dutch had, this season, been successful in their conquests, having got possession of Maccassar, and, by this event, of the inlet to the Spice Islands ; and, not-

withstanding

withstanding the just right of the English to the Island of Polaroon, they had refused to cede it to the Company, unless they should receive positive orders from the States General to that effect. (1)

CHAP. I.
1643-44.

(1)—Letters from the President and Council at Bantam to the Court, 9th December 1643, and 10th January 1643-44——Letter from the Agent and Council at Fort St George to the President and Council at Bantam, 25th August 1643.

1644-45.

CHAP. I.
1644-45.
The East-India trade affected by the continuation of the civil wars.

FROM the period at which the Royal authority was abridged, and therefore unable to grant to the London East-India Company that redress which they had solicited, and, more particularly, from the period at which the projected Fourth Joint Stock was to become the basis of the renewal of their Charter and privileges, to enable them to resist Courten's Association of Interlopers, it has been necessary to refer annually to the convulsions in the government of England, which were desolating the British dominions, that we might discover the real causes of the decline of the useful arts and commerce, the obstructions in the exports by the outward ships, and the hazards run in bringing Indian articles for the home sales. Amid these public evils, the proceedings of the Company appear the more meritorious, when it is considered, that, by those proceedings, the right of the nation to the trade to the East-Indies was preserved, which otherwise must have fallen into the hands of the Dutch.

If, in 1643-44, it was doubtful whether the Royalists, or what was termed the army of the Parliament, would prevail, the success of the one, in 1644-45, though promising in some quarters, was as doubtful, as the submission of the other; and the most material circumstance, perhaps, which occurred in this year, was the rise of the power of the Independents. This event,

event, at first, created a division among the opponents of the King, by the great authority which the leaders of this sect had acquired, and rendered the war more doubtful in its issue, at the close of this, than it had been in the preceding year. At all events, therefore, neither the King, nor the leaders of the Parliament, could afford protection to the London East-India Company, who, at home, depended on expedients to preserve their Charter and trade, and abroad, gave discretionary powers, rather than distinct instructions, to their establishments and factories.

Discretionary orders given for the provision of investments.

This situation of the Court of Directors, appears from the description they gave to their servants abroad, of their domestic distresses :—they informed them, that they had continued their equipments, and had sent a proportion of stock and goods, but that they must leave to their discretion, the selection of such articles for the home market, as they might think would most readily find a quick and profitable sale ;—that whatever Lahore indigo, or Coast cloths, they might ship for Europe, ought to be of such qualities, as, by their intrinsic value, would find purchasers, but not to send any articles on speculation ;—that the articles sent from England were proportions of broad-cloth and lead, with corals from Italy, in the hope that these might be disposed of in the Persian market ;—that the proportion of money sent, was in foreign coins, and silver in bars, to purchase pepper and cardamoms on the Malabar Coast, and that the silver, in particular, would purchase Coromandel cloths with advantage, either to be sent to Bantam, for pepper and finer

spices,

CHAP. I. 1644-45.

spices, or for the home sales; if any surplus should remain, it was to be invested in Surat and Scindy cloths, or in silks, if they could be obtained from Persia; always considering the station at Gombroon to be preserved, on account of the customs, and to recover debts, rather than from ultimately expecting that the Persian trade would be productive. (1)

Surgeon Boughton's influence, at the Mogul's Court, the means of confirming the English trade in Bengal.

It had been a resolution of the President and Council of SURAT, in 1643-44, to counteract the influence which the Dutch had acquired at the Court of the Mogul, by presents to that sovereign, and to his sons, to obtain, for the London Company, Phirmaunds, equally favorable with those which their rival had acquired:—this expedient had obtained an order for the abatement of the duties on customs, on the goods purchased at Ahmedabad, Agra, and Brodera.

An incident, in this state of rivalship of the two European nations, occurred, which, from the important effects that ensued, could not have been augured. The surgeons of the English Indiamen had acquired, for their skill in curing the disorders of the principal Mogul officers, a reputation, which made them known at Court. Assalet Khan, a nobleman of high rank, applied to the Presidency of Surat to recommend a surgeon to reside at Agra, and they selected Mr. Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of

(1)—Letter from the Court to the President and Council at Surat, dated 29th March 1644. (Vol. 22).

of the Company's ship Hopewell, for that duty, who was afterwards appointed surgeon to the Emperor. His success gave to the English an influence in the Mogul's Court, which, in the sequel, we shall find to be the source of the valuable privileges which the London Company acquired in Bengal.

CHAP. I. 1644-45.

The Presidency of Surat reported, that the competition of the Dutch, in the Agra market, had raised the price of indigo so high, as to render it difficult to meet the Court's orders for large purchases of that article, and that the sale of the English broad-cloths had been obstructed by the great quantities imported, and brought to market, by the private traders.

The Dutch form a Convention with the Portuguese at Goa.

The project of the Dutch, of opposing the English trade, continued in every part of India, and though the Portuguese at Goa had acted up to the stipulations in the Convention, the negotiation between Van Diemen and the Portuguese Viceroy, which in the former year had been broken off, was renewed in this season, and on the 1st November 1644, a treaty was concluded, between these nations, by which the prizes taken by either were to be given up, and a moiety of the cinnamon ceded to the Dutch. This event had rendered the English Convention with the Portuguese more precarious, because it had introduced Dutch traders into the Portuguese ports, and caused a competition for such articles, as the English had hitherto been able, exclusively, to purchase, under the terms of the Convention:— this accounts for an abridgment of the investment from the West of India, in this season.

The

CHAP. I. 1644-45. The Presidency of Surat continued to be harassed by Courten's shipping, one of which (the William) was this season wrecked, one hundred and fifty leagues from the Cape; but anxious to draw, even from this incident, advantage to the Company, the Presidency had purchased the remains of the wreck, and granted bills on the Court for the value, giving the surviving crew a passage to Madras, where they were taken into the Company's service, to recruit the garrison. This act, however humane, had not the effect of lessening the opposition of Courten's Agents, to the plans which, under the instructions of the Court, the Presidency had been adopting, for extending the trade to all the countries within the Company's limits; for, notwithstanding their knowledge that the Presidency had sent the Hind, a small vessel, on a voyage of experiment to Macao and Manilla, under the charge of Mr. Thurston, and Mr. (afterwards the celebrated Sir George) Oxenden, and letters of recommendation from the Viceroy of Goa, Courten's Agents obtained similar recommendations, and dispatched one of their ships to China, to wrest, if possible, the advantage of this experiment from the Company. (1)

Persian trade decreased, from silks not being so much worn in England as formerly.

It does not appear, that either the President at Surat, or the Company's Agents in PERSIA, had, as yet, received those instructions from the Court, under which the trade in that country could be relinquished, or persevered in:—hence, in this year, we have only to contemplate the measures which the President of Surat adopted, for continuing the Persian trade, and keeping

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 28th November 1644, and 3d January 1644-45.

keeping up the right to the customs at Gombroon, and the report which those Agents sent of the actual state of that trade. CHAP. I. 1644-45.

At first, the Agents, by presents to the King and to the Shahbunder, tried to preserve the Company's right to the customs at Gombroon; but the trade at that port had so declined, that they expressed a doubt, whether the amount of customs would balance the charges incurred in the collection, as they had not exceeded, in the last year, six hundred Tomands :— they had applied, however, to the King, for the four additional Phirmaunds which had been promised, on the subjects of the contracts of silk, and the customs, and it is singular, that though, hitherto, all the efforts of the Agents in Persia had been directed to obtain the largest possible quantity of silk, in this year these Phirmaunds were refused, because the English did not take off the same quantity, which, hitherto, they had been accustomed to receive under the Royal favor ; and it is not less singular, and a memorable proof of the effect of the political distractions in England, at this period, that the Agent was compelled to explain to the King of Persia, the reason of this change to be, the distracted state of the Government in England, in which the rigid and austere manners of the Republicans had rendered silks (an article of former luxury) less an article in demand, than under the polished manners of a court; a melancholy example of the effect of political anarchy, on commercial prosperity.

If the convulsed and austere manners of England thus struck at the prosperity of the Company's trade in Persia, it is a remarkable contrast to find, at the same juncture, that the settled,

CHAP. I.
1644-45.

settled, though absolute government of Turkey, was favorable to the introduction of the Company's trade; because, under such a government, articles of foreign import found a ready sale for the luxury of the great, while this luxury facilitated the exports of Turkish produce, favorable to the sales of the English, and therefore, the Presidency of Surat described the factory at BUSSORAH, to have become one of the most important centres of exchange which the Company, at this time, enjoyed, as, at that port, they were, as yet, unmolested by the Dutch. (1)

Affairs at Fort St. George assume a promising aspect.

Affairs at FORT ST. GEORGE, in this year, assumed a more important aspect, than hitherto they had done;— the expences of building the Fort amounted, already, to £2,294, and would still require £2,000 more, to render this station impregnable to the native powers. The country was, at this time, desolated, and the trade obstructed, by the contending interests of the Moors and Hindoos; should, however, the fortifications be completed, a garrison of a hundred soldiers, with proper officers, would be required for its defence; and though the profits of the trade would not, as yet, compensate for the charges of a garrison, the Company would soon acquire a valuable proportion of the Coromandel trade from this station, both for Bantam and the Southern markets, for exchanges in Bengal, and more particularly for the home sales. (2)

(1)—Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 28th November 1644.—— Letter from the Agent and Council at Gombroon to the Court, 27th March 1644.

(2)—Letter from the Agent and Council of Fort St. George to the Court, 8th September 1644.

1645-46.

CHAP. I.
1645-46.
The Civil Wars render the sales of Indian produce uncertain.

In the successive years of the Civil War, which was desolating the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, arts and trade were necessarily borne down, and the commerce of the East-India Company, in a particular manner, was exposed to distress, from their exports being abridged in quantity, and increased in price, and from the sales of their imports having become hazardous.

In 1645-46, the alternate success of the armies of the Royalists, and of the Parliament, increased those difficulties, and terminated in the battle of Naseby, which depressed the Royalists, and rather raised to power the leaders and generals of the Parliament, than led to those political changes, which were held out to their followers and dependents, as benefits to the people.

Reference to this internal situation of Great Britain and Ireland, accounts for the instructions which the East-India Company sent to their foreign Presidencies, being expressed with reserve, concerning the civil commotions, and for discretionary powers being continued, to purchase, rather valuable articles of Indian produce, than large quantities of them.(1)

 The

(1)—Letter from the Court to the President and Council of Surat, 26th March 1646. (Vol. iii. No. 221).

CHAP. I.
1645-46.
The Convention between the Dutch and Portuguese depressed the trade between Surat and Goa.

The promising appearances of commercial advantages at SURAT, and on the West Coast of India, by Phirmaunds from the Mogul, gave way, in this season (1645-46), to the superior means of the Dutch, to purchase those grants. The benefits from the Convention, between the President of Surat and the Viceroy of Goa, were also decreasing, in consequence of the treaty between the Dutch and the Portuguese; a treaty which was a matter of necessity with the Viceroy, but which compelled him to give the preference, in the Portuguese ports, to an old enemy, now become a new ally. As if those evils had not been sufficient to overset the Presidency of Surat and its dependencies, they were accompanied by another, which became the source of a most serious alarm:—Courten's Agents and shipping having been unsuccessful, the credit of these Interlopers, of course, declined; and it was apprehended, that they would seize on the vessels and cargoes belonging to the native powers, as an immediate resource, to relieve them from losses and distress. The impression that such would be their conduct had become general, for the Governor of Surat, and the Dutch, declared to the President and Council, that they would hold them to be responsible for any depredations which their countrymen might commit, at a time, when they must have observed, that the Company's Presidencies and Agents had prohibited any of Courten's ships or Agents, entering any of the ports, at which the Company's factories

tories were settled. These embarrassments account for the investment from Surat and its dependencies being small; for, at Cochin, and along the Malabar Coast, the Portuguese, since their treaty with the Dutch, refused to give the English a proportion of pepper, cinnamon, or cardamoms; and, from the prevailing wars in the Guzzerat, cloth could not be procured, either in quantity, quality, or price, as formerly.

CHAP. I. 1645-46.

At Surat, however, the President and Council turned their attention to a trade to Manilla and to the Red Sea. The vessels sent to Manilla, last year, had returned with a cargo of very fine bullion and sapan-wood, which had sold at very considerable profit; but the farther prosecution of this trade would depend on the Court sending out shipping fitted for it, and furnishing iron and saltpetre, in request in that market:—with these means, the President was of opinion, that liberty of trade could not only be obtained, but also permission to settle a factory at Manilla.

As the trade in Coromandel goods, between Surat and Mocha, was promising, a vessel was freighted for a voyage of experiment to Swakem, in the Red Sea, at which, it was hoped a trade might be opened; but the Presidency explained that this project would require a good ship, well armed, to be constantly employed between the Coromandel Coast and the Red Sea. (1)

The Dutch obtain favorable Phirmaunds from the King of

The Dutch had, hitherto, by presents and by intrigues, obtained a share in the trade of PERSIA; but, in this season, they resorted to what the English Agents had often recommended, the

(1)—General Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 31st March 1645, and 3d January 1645-46.

CHAP. I. 1645-46. Persia, from havinga large fleet in the Persian Gulf.

the employment of force, to compel the Persians to give them almost an exclusive right to the trade in their country. Besides bringing a large fleet into the Gulf, the Dutch, in the autumn of 1645, embarked on it a military force, with which they made an attack on the castle of Kishmé: —this event so alarmed the King and the Shahbunder, that they solicited an armistice from Commodore Block, the commander of the Dutch, and offered to make peace with that nation, and to grant them the most favorable terms of trade:— Commodore Block was even permitted to proceed to Ispahan, and was graciously received by the King, and though he died at that city, soon after his arrival, the terms of peace were adjusted, and hostilities ceased between the Persians and Dutch, who obtained a licence to purchase silk in any part of Persia they might please, and to export it free of customs; this change not only depressed the English trade in Persia, but affected that which they had been forming, between the Coromandel Coast and that country, of which the Dutch now got possession, and followed up their superiority so effectually, that they immediately directed eight of their ships to proceed up the Gulf to Bussorah, where they almost ruined the English factory.

The Company's factory at Gombroon, during these events, was every day in a more precarious situation, though the Agents still kept up their claim to the proportion of customs, of which they had received, for last year, six hundred and sixteen Tomands; but such had been the effect of the Dutch power on the Persian government at this port, that Commodore Block, the

the Dutch commander, demanded the restoration of four thousand nine hundred Tomands of money, extorted from the Dutch Agents, on former occasions. It was in this situation of affairs, and to avoid the consequences of the war between the Dutch and Persians, that the Agents found it necessary to embark the Company's property at Gombroon, and send it to Bussorah, as a place of greater security, at which it arrived in safety, in June 1645. (1)

Phirmaund solicited from the King of Golcondah, for confirming the grant of Madras to the English.

On the Coromandel Coast, the Company's trade was gradually becoming of more importance, which determined the Agent and Council at Fort St. George to send an Agent, with a present, to the King of Golcondah, to obtain a confirmation from him of the grant and privileges which had been originally procured from the Naig of the district;—assigning as a reason, that, if properly supplied with shipping and stock, they should be able to procure Coast cloths, not only sufficient to supply the demands for Surat and Bantam, but to become a valuable article in the home sales. (2)

(1)—Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 3d January 1645-6.—— Letter from the Agent and Council of Ispahan to the President and Council of Surat, 7th September 1645.—— Letters from the Agents at Gombroon to the Court, 16th May and 16th November 1645.—— Letter from the Agent at Bussorah to the Court, 31st July 1645.

(2)—Letter from the Agent and Council of Madras, or Fort St. George, to the Court, dated 1st October 1645.

1646-47.

CHAP. I.
1646-47.
The regular government of England being overset, the Company's equipments were small, and their instructions discretionary.

THE public events of 1646-47 must, for ever, hold out a memorable example of the issue of civil dissensions, and of their calamitous effects on any people. The unfortunate Monarch, almost reduced to despair, took refuge in the Scotch army at Newark, which, though his native subjects, had united with the English Parliament, and hesitated only for a short time, between betraying their King, and obtaining the arrears of their pay: at last, they delivered up their Monarch to the Commissioners of the Parliament, and, after this ungenerous proceeding, returned with infamy, to their own country. The humiliation of the King was followed by the general desire to lessen, if not to disband, the army of the Parliament, as the heavy taxes which had been imposed for its maintenance, were bearing hard on the people. The army, which was composed chiefly of Independents, of whom Cromwell was the leader, resolved to resist the Parliament, composed chiefly of Presbyterians; this state of affairs led to the formation of a Council of Officers, and the nation, divided between Royalists and Parliamentarians, were now divided between the army, and that Parliament which had subverted the Royal power; as the Monarch was now a prisoner at Hampton Court, and the regular Constitution almost dissolved.

In

CHAP. I. 1646-47.

In such a situation, the arts of peace, and the commerce they nourish, were necessarily suspended; and all we can collect of the conduct of the East-India Company, in this trying situation, is, that they formed their equipment on a limited scale, and (as in the preceding season) accounted to their foreign Presidencies for the small cargoes and stock, by the pressure under which they were placed; leaving to their servants discretionary powers to form investments of such articles as would find a sale, even should the unsettled commercial circumstances of their employers continue:—at the same time, the Court conveyed their opinion, that the trade at Gombroon did not yield a sufficient sum to defray the charges; that the trade between Surat and the Coromandel Coast had been conducted in the most irregular manner; and that the trade between Madras and Bantam had been totally neglected. (1)

The effect of the competition in the Surat trade, between the English and Dutch, obliged both parties to come to an accommodation.

Such were the shifting aspects which the Dutch and English commerce at Surat, and the West of India, assumed, that the report of one year, in this distracted period, can seldom become the ground of conjecture, respecting the state of affairs in the succeeding season. In 1645-46, the Dutch had acquired a complete ascendency over the English; in 1646-47, the high prices of indigo obliged both to come to an accommodation, and to agree to give the same price for this article, and for other goods;

(1)—Letter from the Court to the Presidency of Surat, 26th March 1646.

CHAP. I. 1646-47.

goods; that is, to allow the market to recover its level. This event gave to the English the power of obtaining a larger investment, than otherwise they could have made; for neither the Phirmaunds which the Dutch had purchased, nor those which the English had recently acquired, could overcome the prejudices which the subjects of the Mogul had taken, against selling saltpetre to Europeans, from the idea that, if they could prevent them from purchasing saltpetre, they could deprive them of the means of maintaining their naval superiority:—these events placed the Dutch and English factors on a fair competition in the market, in purchasing cloths, indigo, and other articles, for the Europe investment. The Surat Presidency, however, still remained under embarrassments, from the treaty between the Portuguese and the Dutch, and to relieve themselves from its effects, persevered in the project of making experiments of trade to Judda and Mocha, (even under a competition with the Mogul's shipping,) and in the trade to Manilla, to which they were encouraged, by the last vessel, sent to that station, having cleared forty thousand rials, after paying all charges; but the continuance of this trade would depend on the English Government obtaining a licence for it from the King of Spain.

Courten's Association forms a Colony at Madagascar, which ruins their trade.

Courten's Association had, hitherto, borne down the Company's factories and shipping, but the low state of the credit of these adventurers, and the wild projects to which they resorted, began to press hard on the trade of the Dutch and Portuguese. In the year 1645-46, they formed the plan of establishing a colony at St. Augustine's Bay, on the Island of St.

St. Laurence, or Madagascar:—from this station they hoped to embarrass the trade, equally of the Dutch and of the Company: —this project was beyond their means, and the colony was, in a short time, reduced to great distress; one of their ships, which had gone to Mocha, would have been seized, had it not been relieved by the Company's Agent, who advanced a small sum, to enable her to leave that port; one of their Agents, also, who had fixed a factory at Carwar, offered to sell it to the Presidency of Surat, which was refused. In these circumstances they had recourse to the desperate measure of coining counterfeit pagodas and rials, at Madagascar; a plan, which, had it only exposed themselves, might have had a good effect on the Company's trade; but the natives of India, not being able to distinguish between them and the Company, considered this proceeding as a stain on the English character, as merchants. To this project of establishing a colony on the Island of Madagascar, which brought misery on the settlers, and, at the same time, lowered the English character in India, may be ascribed the failure of Courten's trade, which began to be as odious in the Indies, as it had been commercially dishonorable in England:—hence we discover the reason, why the investments from Surat were small this season, and filled up with articles the qualities of which were neither such as were required by the Court, nor suited to the demands in the English market. (1)

 Another

(1)—Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 30th March 1646, and 25th January and 26th February 1646-47.—— (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, vol. iii, 1635 to 1659, No. 53).

CHAP. I.
1646-47.
New Phirmaunds obtained in Persia, but the Company's trade depressed by Courten's ships at Gombroon.

Another proof of the shifting aspects of the preponderance of the European nations in the eastern markets, occurred this year, in PERSIA. The fleet and forces which the Dutch had employed, in 1645-46, in the Gulf, had obtained for them almost exclusive grants of the trade, and nearly ruined the English factory at Bussorah: in 1646-47, however, though the English trade, both at Gombroon and Ispahan, had declined, they still had been able to support their right to a proportion of it, because silk had fallen in price for some years, which made it practicable to the English (if they could not obtain equal privileges) still to hold a share in the trade, and to obtain the promise of the King for three Phirmaunds, one for releasing them from the payment of four per cent. on goods sold at Ispahan; another, authorizing them to rebuild their house at Gombroon, which had been destroyed by an earthquake; and a third, for regulating the payment of customs at Gombroon;—favors which they ascribed to the appointment of a new Vizier, or Ettaman Dowlut, whose disposition the Agents represented as more favorable to the English, than that of his predecessor.

The trade, therefore, as well as the Company's rights at Gombroon, might have revived, had not the arrival of one of Courten's ships at that port, against which the Agent protested, again thrown affairs into confusion; for the Shahbunder received the commander, and allowed him to land his goods, without payment of customs, on his promising, at his return, to take off all the King's silk at that port.

The

The Court do not appear to have received, this season, any direct information, either from BANTAM, or from MADRAS, but only to have learned from Surat, that the former Presidency had been disappointed, in not receiving investments of Coast cloths, and the latter, of pepper and spices; articles of such importance for the Persian trade, and for the investments for Europe. (1)

CHAP. I.
1646-47.

(1)—Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 25th January 1646-47.—— Letters from the Agent and Council of Gombroon to the Court, 9th May 1646.

1647-48.

CHAP. I.
1647-48.
The Company, with the approbation of Parliament, project a new Subscription.

The power of the Independents, guided by Cromwell, having given the ascendency to the Parliament, which had overset the Royal authority, and reduced the King to be a prisoner, the monarch, unhappily for himself, escaped to the Isle of Wight, where he fell into the hands of the Governor, who was a violent Independent. In this hard situation, propositions were made by the Parliament, amounting nearly to a resignation of the Royal authority :—this oppression roused the Royalists, both in England and in Scotland, again to take arms, to rescue the King; and hence what has been termed the Second Civil War.

Amid these distractions, the East-India Company (perhaps more than any corporation in the kingdom) felt the greastest difficulty in supporting their Charter and privileges, and in following a line of conduct, that should keep out of view questions regarding their rights, and yet make an impression on the public, of the importance of the East-India trade, to the manufacturing and commercial part of the community. The measure adopted by the Company, on this occasion, was to bring forward the plan of a new Subscription to support the trade, which was communicated to the Parliament; and as the Court were satisfied, that the only motive which could influence the leaders of this assembly, was the prospect of gain to themselves, as individuals, an

CHAP. I. 1647-48.

an advertisement was published, stating that a limited time would be allowed to the subscribers to fill up the list, but, in deference to Members of the Parliament, the period would be prolonged in their favor, that they might have an opportunity to consider of the subject, and to become subscribers. This plan succeeded, and the approbation of the Commons was obtained, not only of the plan itself, but of the advantages which it held out to such of their number as might be disposed to become subscribers, or members of the East-India Company, and, being accepted by the Parliament, it, in fact, recognized, or gave a public sanction to, the rights and privileges of the Company.(1)

The English trade at Surat and in Persia injured, by the Dutch imports of pepper and the finer spices.

The President and Council of SURAT were, in this year, compelled to employ the limited stock which they possessed, in preserving their rights, and in making up their scanty investments; and were, at the same time, exposed to the consequences of being made responsible for the depredations apprehended from Courten's shipping. The chief reliance was on the imports of pepper and spices from Bantam and Acheen, required for the Surat and Persian markets; but the Dutch stock being large, and their shipping numerous, they were enabled to bring to Surat a large importation of pepper and spices, which they sold at reduced prices,

(1)—Order of the House of Commons, relative to the projected Subscription for the East-India Trade. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, vol. iii, 163, 4to. 1659, No. 227.)

CHAP. I.
1647-48.

prices, and thus rendered the small proportion which the Presidency possessed, not saleable: it was therefore laid up in store, to become a part of the Europe investment, conceiving that these articles would bring greater profits at home, than could be drawn, by exchanges, for Surat or Persian produce. The prices, besides, of indigo, were high, and therefore, to prevent the ships being dispatched half laden, they were filled up with saltpetre and gruff goods. The orders of the Court, to dispose of the ships, could not be obeyed, as they could not be sold without a great loss, and if purchased by the country traders, on the Malabar Coast, might probably be employed as pirates; or, should this not be the case, the sale of them would produce an impression on the natives, that the Company intended to withdraw from the trade, which would be injurious to their credit, and prevent the recovery of their debts.

The trade to PERSIA, in this year, became more precarious, than at any former period, from the expence of obtaining Phirmaunds for almost every transaction; the charges for which lessened the profits, independently of the circumstance of the failure of imports of pepper and spices from Surat, so necessary to facilitate the purchase of Persian produce.

Trade at Madras depressed by a famine, and not receiving pepper from Bantam.

The trade at MADRAS, in this year, was difficult, if not impracticable, from the prevalence of a famine, and a general war on the Coromandel Coast, and had not a vessel with provisions arrived from Surat, for its relief, the garrison would have been deprived of the means of subsistence:—the Coast cloths, also, intended for Persia, procured by exchanges of pepper

pepper and spices from Bantam, could not be made up for the Persian market, a circumstance which necessarily had its effect on the investments in that quarter: differences, also, had arisen between the Portuguese and English settlements on the Coast, notwithstanding the friendly assistance formerly received from the officer commanding at St. Thomé; but measures were taken to accommodate this dispute. As an addition to the investment, Bengal silks had been purchased, which, it was hoped, would meet with a good market in England. CHAP. I. 1647-48.

The trade at BANTAM and ACHEEN, in this season, had also been depressed by the superior stock and naval means of the Dutch; the investment, therefore, of pepper was inconsiderable. (1)

(1)—General Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 31st March and 7th October 1647, and 6th January 1647-48.

1648-49.

CHAP. I.
1648-49.
The fall of the Monarchy obliged the Company to act with secrecy in their equipments and stock

DURING the calamitous year 1648-49, the armies which had assembled in England, and which had marched from Scotland, to treat with the King and with the Parliament, on the most opposite principles, were each disappointed in their views, by the profound policy and military talents of Cromwell, whose power, and that of his officers, at last became supreme:—the unfortunate monarch was first brought a prisoner from the Isle of Wight to Windsor, and next to London, where, after undergoing the dreadful forms of an ignominious trial, he fell a victim to the guilty ambition of his enemies; leaving an awful example of the danger to the English people, and to every nation, of becoming the dupes of men, who, under the pretext of improving the constitution of the country, and the condition of the people, lead them to those crimes, which have left an indelible stain on the English character.

While these public evils were approaching, the London East-India Company preserved a cautious mercantile silence, by not becoming the partizans of any faction, and, by the projected new Subscription, drew from the leaders in the Parliament an acknowledgement of their rights, and the importance of their trade to the realm, and followed up this conduct, as the best means

means of keeping out of public view, the speculations of the Private Traders. CHAP. I. 1648-49.

It may be presumed, as there are no traces of the dispatches of the Company to their foreign stations, this year, that they were *secret*;—a caution indispensable in their critical situation, as the least knowledge of their affairs would have exposed them to pay money, to gratify the avarice, or administer to the wants of those men, who had an usurped power to support. Hence, in this season, the real state of the Company's affairs must be gleaned from the letters, or dispatches, of their Presidencies or Agencies abroad, removed from the hard situation in which the Directors were placed at home, and employing the funds which were entrusted to their discretion, to preserve the rights of the Company abroad, and to impress the public, from the magnitude of the imports, with an opinion of the prosperity of the East-India trade.

Trade at Surat revived, from the war between the Persians and Moguls.

The President and Council of SURAT, in 1647-48, from a deficiency in stock, and from the failure of imports, either from Bantam or from Madras, had been obliged to resort to expedients, to preserve their rights, and to avoid selling their ships, which would have excited, among the natives, an impression that they were about to relinquish the trade. In the early part of this season, they had, under the Court's orders, attempted to purchase finer spices from the Dutch factory and shipping,

 but

CHAP. I. 1648-49. but to such a degree had the jealousy of this people arisen, that rather than allow these articles to form a part of the Company's investment, they sold them, at under rates, to the natives, that it might become impracticable for the English to send any considerable quantity of spices to the Europe market.

Towards the close of the season, however, the President and Council received information of the projected Subscription to a new or Fourth Joint Stock, and instructions to keep the accounts of it distinct from the former funds:—this, added to the embarrassment under which they were placed, by having separate proportions of their investments assigned to two distinct stocks, induced them to intimate to the Court, that it would be almost impossible, in the purchase of smaller quantities of goods, to give to each of those classes of Adventurers, their respective shares, but that when the new stock should come to be acted on, separate books would be opened for each.

The Agents and shipping of Courten's Association continued to harrass the trade, though their credit had sunk so low, that Mr. Hicks, and other factors, had been seized and imprisoned for debt; yet, even this situation could not prevent them from reporting, that their managers in England were about to obtain assistance and protection from the Parliament.

The trade between Surat and BUSSORAH had, this year, been unproductive, from the superior means which the Dutch prossessed of engrossing it; and the trade between Surat and Judda, and Mocha, had decreased, from the

the great number of Arabian ships which had been employed in it (1) CHAP. I. 1648-49.

An approaching war between the King of Persia and the Mogul, in this year, had a favorable effect in raising the Company's trade in PERSIA, from the low state to which it had sunk in the preceding season. The Persian army was advancing in great force, towards Candahar, and threatening an invasion of the Mogul provinces, in the vicinity of the capital. During this war, the Persian and Indian goods, which had hitherto proceeded by land, between those kingdoms, were necessarily embarked, which gave the carrying trade to the Dutch and English; from which the English would receive a proportion of freight, corresponding to the number of ships which they could detach for that service.

The circumstances of the factory at Gombroon continued to be precarious, though a small quantity of Persian produce had been procured; but, even this, it was of importance to preserve, to keep up the Company's right to their moiety of the customs, of which the Agents had only received six hundred and thirty-five Tomands, though their fair proportion was, on an average, estimated at five thousand Tomands per annum. (2)

The

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 5th April 1648, and 31st January 1648-49.

(2)—Letter from the Factors at Gombroon to the Court, 12th April 1648, and from Surat to the Court, 31st January 1648-49.

CHAP. I.
1648-49.

The trade at Madras affected, by the wars between the Kings of Visiapore and Golcondah.

The factory at MADRAS was beginning to recover from the distresses occasioned by the famine of the preceding year, and from the consequences of the petty wars among the Naigs in its vicinity, when a war of a more general description broke out, between the Kings of Visiapore and Golcondah, whose irregular troops had laid waste the neighbouring provinces, and had, in a particular manner, ruined the three principal towns of Tevenepatam, Porto Novo, and Pollacherry, at which the greatest proportion of Coromandel cloths had hitherto been purchased.

The trade between Bantam and the Coast, and between Madras, Tennessee, and Pegu, had been kept open; but should the Court be of opinion, that commerce with these countries ought to be persevered in, two ships, of a hundred and twenty tons burthen, must be sent from England, to be employed between the Coromandel Coast and those stations. The accounts of the former Joint Stock had been made up, which amounted to one hundred and two thousand rials, of which about forty thousand were considered as bad debts; but every effort should be made to recover the arrears, and to applyt he amount for the benefit of the Adventurers in this stock.(1)

Trade at Bantam almost suspended, for want of funds.

For several years, information respecting the circumstances of the Company's Presidency at BANTAM, and its dependencies, had been irregularly received, a circumstance which may be accounted

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Council at Fort St. George to the Court, 23d September 1648.

accounted for, by the preponderance of the Dutch power in that quarter, and which, in part, may be explained, by there frequently appearing, on the letters, a difference of two years, between their date, and the time when they are marked, as received by the Court. The actual state of affairs at this Presidency explains the difficulty with which they procured, or could send off, pepper and the finer spices, either for Surat or Europe ; for the Dutch had, (without questioning the right of the English to the Island of Polaroon, and to render it of no use, should it be ordered to be delivered up by the States General,) sent, every year, a number of people, under guides, to cut down and destroy the nutmeg-trees on the Island, that they might consolidate their monopoly at the Bandas and Moluccas ; and that no part of the finer spices might come, either to India or to Europe, but through the medium of their imports ; and, therefore, the Presidency of Bantam submitted to the Court, that it would be more practicable to purchase nutmegs and mace at Surat, to which the Dutch annually sent large quantities, than at Bantam, under the restraints imposed by them.

The Presidency reported, on the China trade, that this Empire was in the most distracted state, having been recently conquered by the Tartars, and that, in particular, the sea-ports of it had become inaccessible, from being infested by numbers of pirates.

As this Presidency had received information of the project of a new, or Fourth Joint Stock, being formed in England,

and

CHAP. I. 1648-49. and the Court's instructions to keep the account of it, and of the Second General Voyage, distinct, they intimated, that these orders should be regularly observed.[1]

(1)—Letter from the President and Council at Bantam, directed to the Adventurers in the Fourth Joint Stock, 10th January 1648-49.

1649-50.

CHAP. I.
1649-50.
Establishment of the Council of State.

From the commencement of the Civil War, to what may be denominated the first termination of it, or the fatal death of Charles I., it became necessary to refer to the successive aspects of the Government, to explain the measures which the London Company adopted, to defend their privileges from domestic infringements, and to obtain the redress of those grievances, which they had experienced from a foreign and powerful commercial rival.

After the parties, which had united against the Sovereign, and subverted the throne, ceased to have this common object of union, it is necessary, for a like reason, to refer to the aspects which the Government assumed, to discover the source of the proceedings of the London East-India Company.

The Regicides were divided into parties, and each of them sought to assume the preponderance; one, contended for the wild project of a perfect republic; another, for the equal partition of property and power; a third, for the subversion of the established laws, and the introduction of more simple rules of justice. These opposite prejudices, and impracticable schemes, not only injured morals, but degraded manners, and produced a temporary suspension of all government. In a short time, it became obvious, that the power of controling the whole rested with the army, chiefly formed of Independents, and directed by Oliver Cromwell.

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1649-50.

A Council of State, therefore, was formed, consisting of thirty-eight persons, selected, in general, from the officers of the army, who assumed the right of receiving all addresses, of issuing all orders to generals and admirals, of executing the laws, and of preparing the business to be introduced into the Parliament, which now consisted of a small number of members of the House of Commons, who, in the following year, established what was termed the Commonwealth of England.

It was, therefore, to this Council of State, and to this Parliament, acting under its direction, that the London East-India Company were to look for protection, or redress of grievances

A Fourth Joint Stock projected by the Company, as the basis of an application to the Council of State for renewal of their privileges.

For several years, the Company had attempted to obtain a renewal of their Charter from the King, and had projected a Fourth Joint Stock, to become the fund upon which their trade was to be extended, and their foreign factories preserved; but this Charter not having been obtained, and being afraid of innovations, and of infringements on their exclusive rights, they proceeded, in their domestic transactions, with mercantile caution, and left their foreign Presidencies and factories, with discretionary powers to preserve their trade and settlements, till the support of the Government, at home, should enable them to re-assume those rights and privileges, which, for half a century, they had, with much perseverance, and under heavy losses, been struggling to maintain.

Company's memorial to the Council

The first act of the Company, under these difficult circumstances, was to present a memorial to the Council of State, specifying

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1649-50.

of State, specifying their losses by Courten's Association, and by the Assada Merchants.

cifying that, under their Charter, they had carried on a trade to the East-Indies, with great advantages to the public revenues, which, during the last twenty-five years, had drawn from it above £500,000; that, in prosecuting this trade, they had experienced heavy losses from the Portuguese, though by a truce, within the last fourteen years, that nation had accommodated matters with them;—that licences had been granted, in the late reign, to Courten's Association, to carry on trade, and establish factories in the countries within their limits; and that the depredations, by the shipping of this Association, on the native traders, had exposed the Company's servants to imprisonment, and their property to heavy losses, which they estimated at £100,000;—that this same Association was now applying to the Parliament, for permission to form a settlement on the Island of Assada, near Madagascar, and was preparing shipping, and engaging settlers for that purpose;—that the consequence of such an establishment would be, that these ships, under the pretext of trade, would renew their depredations on the shipping and trade of the native states in India, and again expose the Company's factories, shipping, and servants, to seizure and imprisonment; and that the ultimate effect must be, to exclude the English nation from trade in the East-Indies:—they, therefore, prayed, that the Council of State would recommend to the House of Commons, that an act should pass, for the support and encouragement of the East-India trade, as managed by the Company. (1)

(1)—Petition of the East-India Company to the Council of State, for an Act of Parliament for support of the East-India trade, 28th October 1649. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 170).

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1649-50.

Union between the Company and the Assada Merchants, recommended by the Council of State.

The Council of State, without entering on the question of the Company's rights, or of the infringement of them by the establishment of Courten's Association, (which now took the name of the *Assada Merchants,*) recommended to both parties, to hold conferences, and to come to an agreement, as the best method by which they could terminate the disputes which had so long subsisted between them.

Objections of the Assada Merchants to this Union.

To this plan the Assada Merchants demurred, on the ground that it would be more profitable for them to carry on their trade to their plantations in Guinea and Assada, and thence to India, than to join with the East-India Company, in one great Joint Stock, for a voyage or adventure of five years, as that Company had proposed; but, to shew that they were willing to give up their private interests for the public benefit, they proposed to join the East-India Compan yon the following terms:—1st, that a stock of £300,000 should be subscribed, within two months, to be paid, by instalments, in four years;—2d, that a person should be sent to Holland, to endeavor to reconcile all differences with the Dutch, and procure the restoration of the Island of Polaroon;—3d, that a valuation should be taken of all their houses, shipping, and goods, remaining in India;—4th, thatthe Island of Assada should be planted and settled;—5th, that the trade to the Coast of Guinea should be joined to the East-India trade; — 6th, that a fortified station should be fixed on, in India, for both Companies;—7th, that regulations should be adopted, for the management of the joint trade, in England, and none holding less than a £500 adventure should have a vote;

vote;—8th, that salaries, both in India and England, should be reduced;—9th, that encouragement should be given to Planters to settle at Assada, and that they should have licence to trade from thence to all ports in the Red Sea, Persia, India, and elsewhere;—10th, that all Indian goods, spices, &c., should be the joint property of both Companies;—11th, that the stock of the ship Ruth, seized in India, should be made good by the East-India Company;—12th, that the two ships fitted out by the Assada Merchants, for saltpetre, should be permitted to sail this season, as well as the Company's ships;—and 13th, that any members of the Assada Association should be at liberty to trade, in places where the Company had not yet sent out ships for that purpose. (1)

Company's answer to these objections.

The Governor, Deputy, and Committees of the East-India Company, reported to the Council of State, that, in obedience to their order of the 12th November, they had met a Committee of the Assada Merchants, and attentively considered their propositions, but were unable, in some points, to come to any agreement with them; and, therefore, submitted their answers to the consideration and approbation of the Council of State, which, in substance, were:—that they agreed to the first, second, and third propositions;—that, with respect to the fourth, although they were sensible that the plantation on Assada was an encroachment on their exclusive limits, under their Charter, yet they consented that island should be planted, as the Adventurers

(1)—Propositions of the Assada Merchants to the East-India Company, for a Union, 10th November 1649. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 171.)

CHAP. I. 1649-50. Adventurers wished ;—to the fifth, that they were unwilling, at present, to enter into the Guinea trade, as they were entirely strangers to it; but agreed to the sixth, seventh and eighth propositions ;—to the ninth, they answered, that though encouragement would be given to the Assada planters, yet they positively refused their consent, that they should trade from port to port in India ;—the tenth proposition was admitted ;—but the eleventh, positively declined, on the ground that the Company had sustained losses, to twenty times the amount, without redress ;—the twelfth was refused, so far as regarded the two saltpetre ships ;—the thirteenth was agreed to, under modifications ;—and, on the whole, they stated, that in their opinion, the plantation of the Island of Assada would not be beneficial to the country, or advantageous to the Company, being near the Island of Madagascar, which had proved so fatal to the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English nations, and above two thousand five hundred miles, from the nearest of the Company's factories ; but that, if the Council of State should be still of opinion, that the plantation would be of public benefit, they were willing to use their utmost endeavors to conduce thereto, but prayed that it might not be inserted in the preamble to their proposed Subscription, as it would deter many of their adventurers from subscribing. (1)

Union between the Company. Two days after this answer of the Governor and Committees, a meeting was held of a Committee of the East-India

(1)—Answer of the East-India Company to the Propositions of the Assada Merchants, [illegible] November 1649. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 172):

India Company, and a Committee of the Assada Merchants, to consider of the proposals of the one party, and the answers of the other; when it was finally settled, that, in general, the East-India Company should agree with the Assada Merchants, except that the planters of Assada should not be allowed to trade, from port to port, in India, but might proceed direct from Assada, to any ports on the Coasts of Asia, Africa, and America, to sell their produce and purchase necessaries, and return direct to Assada; and that they should be allowed a free trade, without restriction, to the Coast of Melinda, the River of Sofala, Mozambique, and parts adjacent. The Committees farther agreed, that the trade to Guinea, for gold and ivory, should, in future, be united with the East-India trade, and therefore petitioned the Council of State (all parties having adjusted their differences) that a recommendation should be made by the Council, to the Parliament, for an Act to settle the trade; that, in future, it should not be prejudiced by interlopers, and that the protection of the State should be afforded them, against the Hollanders. (1)

CHAP. I. 1649-50. and the Assada Merchants agreed on.

This agreement was followed by a petition of the East-India Company to the Parliament, praying for an Act for regulating the trade; which was taken into consideration, on the 31st January 1649-50, when it was resolved, "that the trade "to the East-Indies should be carried on by one Company, and "with one Joint Stock, and the management thereof to be "under

Application of the Company to Parliament for an Act, confirming their privileges, on the basis of this union.

(1)—Agreement between the East-India Company and the Assada Adventurers, 21st November 1649. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 173).

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" under such regulations as the Parliament shall think fit; and " that the East-India Company should proceed upon the articles " of agreement made between them and the Assada Merchants, " on the 21st November 1649, till further orders from the " Parliament." (1)

An United Joint Stock formed for this mixed trade.

This resolution of the Parliament led to the formation of what was termed the *United Joint Stock*; but as the amount of this fund is not specified, it can only be ascertained, that a proportion of it was raised to fit out two ships by the Company, for this season, and that bullion, to the amount of £60,000, was sent on these vessels, to enable the Presidencies and Factories of the Company, in India, to purchase investments.

Equipments and instructions of the Court to their foreign settlements.

The general instructions of the Court to their foreign settlements were, that the goods to be purchased should be of a fine kind, particularly Coast cloths and indigo, and that each ship should have an equal proportion of those articles.

As the Council of State had required, that a large proportion of saltpetre, of the finest kind, should be brought home for the public use, the Presidencies and Factories were enjoined to obtain as much as might be practicable; but if a sufficient quantity of this description, to fill up the tonnage, could not be procured, the Agents, on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, were, at all events, to fill up the spare tonnage with unrefined saltpetre, that the full quantity required by the Council of State might be imported.(2)

(1)—Vote of the Parliament of England, concerning the East-India Trade, 31st January 1649-50. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 175).

(2)—General Letter from the Court to the President and Council of Surat, 13th February 1649-50.

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1649-50.
Difficulties of the Agents and Factors abroad, in appropriating the mixed funds of the Proprietors in the purchase of an investment.

THE actual state of the Company's trade, at this juncture, can only be collected from the foreign transactions of their Presidencies and Factories; a circumstance which may be accounted for, by that mercantile secrecy which was a paramount duty in the Court of Committees, at a time when the nation was convulsed by civil dissensions, and the established government subverted. In this period, a proportion of the projected *Fourth Joint Stock* had been raised and acted on, and also funds had been employed, which took the denomination of the *Second General Voyage*. It has appeared, from the foreign transactions of the preceding years, that orders had been given, to keep the accounts of each of these funds distinct, and to apply proportions of them in the investments, for the benefit of the holders of shares in the *First General Voyage*, in the *Fourth Joint Stock*, and in the *Second General Voyage*. In this season, each of the Presidencies complained of the difficulty they experienced, in making these distinct appropriations of the investment to different classes of Adventurers or Proprietors; and recommended (if it might be practicable) that the Court should obtain an Act of the Parliament, to combine the whole of these separate stocks into one United Stock.

The knowledge of the events which had taken place in England, could not, in the early part of this season, have reached the Company's settlements in India, when they reported

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1649-50.

the actual state of their trade to the Court; we have, therefore, to trace the commercial and political restraints under which they were placed, at each of their stations, and the measures which they adopted.

The opposition by Courten's ships, and by the Dutch, obstructed the trade, though the stock received at Surat had lessened the debt.

The proportions of the different funds, which the Presidency of SURAT had received, enabled them to discharge a considerable part of the large debts which they had contracted, while they were left without supplies from England, and obliged to adopt expedients for defending their factory, and preserving a proportion of the trade, notwithstanding the opposition of the Dutch, and the encroachments of the factors and shipping of Courten's Association; for, at this crisis, they were rather exposed to oppressions from their European rivals, than to any change of conduct in the native powers.

The effect of having discharged a large proportion of their debt was, that the Company's credit rose so high, at Surat, that one of the native merchants advanced to them a lack of rupees, with which they had made large purchases of indigo, cloths, &c., suited either to the Persian, or to the home market; but the English cloths had not sold with the profit expected, at Scindy, and, therefore, they proposed to withdraw that factory, and to increase their purchases at Agra, and even at Lucknow; —that, however, they had not (as recommended by the Court) obtained nutmegs and cloves from the Dutch shipping at Surat, because the Dutch factors would not allow their stores to be opened, even for sale to the natives, till after the departure of their fleet for Europe; this had obliged the Presidency to give high prices

prices for the small quantity of spices included in their investment;—that, besides, it was difficult to obtain cinnamon from the Portuguese, who preferred including their proportion of it in their own cargoes for Europe;—that, though they had got about two hundred and sixty-four bales of Agra indigo, the price had been high, which, with the misfortune of one of their caravans being robbed, induced them to send Mr. Davidge, as an Agent, to Agra, to solicit (after offering suitable presents) the redress of this grievance, and additional Phirmaunds, to protect and enlarge the English trade:—the Presidency, at this time, recommended, that a proportion of quicksilver, vermilion, and elephants' teeth, which were in great demand, should be sent on the ships of the ensuing season, with a supply of money, to enable them to keep up their credit in the market.

Such was the general view of the trade at Surat, in this season; but it appears, that the profits, from exchanges in India, had been depressed, by a jealousy between the Presidencies of Surat and Bantam:—the former had directed their attention to keep up the trade between Surat, Gombroon, and Bussora; the latter, instead of disposing of the English broadcloth at Acheen and Johore, and purchasing spices suited to the Surat and Persian markets, had sent the English cloths to the Coromandel Coast for sale, where they were not in demand; which had obliged the factories, on that Coast, to return the cloths to Surat; and, at the same time, had detained the home-

CHAP. I. 1649-50. ward-bound shipping at Bantam, which had materially injured the investment.

The Presidency of Surat, under all these difficulties, continued to be alarmed, by the irregular proceedings of Courten's Association, which kept a hovering squadron of their ships in the Indian Seas, the depredations of which might again be retaliated on the Company's property and servants:— this was the more to be apprehended, from their dishonorable expedient, of passing base coin (rupees and pagodas) in the Indian markets, for which Captain Durston, one of their commanders, had been seized and imprisoned. Their character was, from this cause, brought into such disrepute, that the Governor of Rajahpore, at which they had a factory, offered the trade of that port to the Presidency of Surat, and to restore the Company's cloth detained at that place, one half in money, and the other by remission of customs; an offer which was accepted by the Presidency, because, at Rajahpore, they could obtain pepper and cardamoms, without being exposed to opposition by the Dutch.[1]

The Persian trade productive; but apprehensions entertained that the King would think unfavorably of the Company, from the calamities in England.

The English trade in PERSIA was, this year, partly affected by the war, between the Mogul and the King of Persia, which abridged the demand for English cloths, and partly by the Surat Presidency not having received from Bantam, the spices required in the Persian market; and yet the profits on the trade had been more

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 5th April 1649, and 22d January and 20th March 1649-50.

more considerable in this, than in any of the preceding seasons, having yielded about four thousand Tomands, or above £12,000 sterling.

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1649-50.

The power of the Dutch in the Persian Gulf, at this time, was so great, that they had obtained additional privileges, rather from fear than from any respect to them, as a nation, and had been promised the confirmation of them, by Phirmaunds, on the return of the King to Ispahan, from his wars with the Mogul: but if the trade had been more productive, the customs at Gombroon were deficient, notwithstanding the friendly disposition of the new Governor of that port. The Agents ascribed this deficiency to the rumours of the civil wars in England, which had reached Persia, and the "tragicall "storye of the Kinge's beheadinge, which would cause the "Emperor and the Persian nobles to consider the English as a "base, contemptible, unworthy nation; and that they were "apprehensive, the Persian nobles would, from this circum-"stance, seek occasion to break the league between the English "and Persians, and deprive them of their moiety of the cus-"toms at Gombroon, which had hitherto been collected in the "name of the King of England." (1)

Trade at Bantam depressed, by the captures made by the Dutch.

There does not appear from the Presidency of BANTAM, this season, any evidence of that jealousy in them, which had occurred at Surat; for they informed the Court, that they had not

(1)—Letters from the Agent and Council at Gombroon and Ispahan to the Court, dated 26th July, and 16th and 27th November 1649.—— Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 20th March 1649-50.

CHAP. I. 1649-50. not received any supplies from England for three years, which explains the reason of their having sent the English broad-cloths to the Coromandel Coast, that they might draw, from the sale of them, resources for the pepper trade.

Under such embarrassments, we find evidence of the activity and perseverance of the President and Council at Bantam, to enlarge their purchases of pepper; for in this year, on an invitation from the Governor of PADANG, in Sumatra, one of the Company's ships was dispatched to that port, and to INDRAPORE, on a voyage of experiment: and this circumstance marks the first trade and settlement of the English, at those stations.

This experiment succeeded beyond expectation, for the ship completed her cargo of pepper, at Indrapore; but on her leaving that port, was attacked and seized by two large Dutch ships, which had been dispatched, for this purpose, by the Dutch General at Batavia:—after taking out the whole of the pepper with which the English ship was loaded, the commanding officer informed the captain that the Dutch had an exclusive right, from the Queen of Acheen, to all the pepper on the coast. When the President and Council at Bantam complained of this outrage to the Dutch General at Batavia, he returned for answer, "that the English were traitors, and had no King, and that "he would do them all the injury in his power." (1)

(1)—Letters from the President and Council at Bantam to the Court, 13th October and 15th December 1649.

1650-51.

CHAP. I. 1650-51.

Petition of the Company to Parliament, for redress of grievances, and compensation from the Dutch.

The reference to the state of public affairs, made in introducing the Annals of 1649-50, must be continued in 1650-51, that the measures of the London Company may be fully appreciated.

After the battle of Worcester, and the escape of Charles II. to France, large armies were sent to Ireland and to Scotland, in the name of that Parliament, which Cromwell had formerly duped, but which now had become the passive instrument of this Usurper, and of that Council of State, which he had selected from his officers and dependents. The situation of the London East-India Company becomes more interesting in this year, than it hitherto has appeared, because the injuries which it had suffered from the Dutch, were not only subjects of complaint to the Council of State, but matters of deliberation and decision to this body, who now had assumed the Sovereign Power.

The Company, on the 14th of November 1650, presented a petition to what they termed "the Supreme Authority of "this Nation, the High Court of the Parliament of England," in which they enumerated the grievances they had suffered from the Dutch, in violation of the treaty of 1619, or, that they had been expelled, by them, from the Island of Polaroon, their ancient inheritance,

CHAP. I. 1650-51. inheritance, and from the Islands of Lantore, Molucca, Banda, and Amboyna, where their factors and servants had been barbarously murdered;—that the spice-trees in Polaroon had been cut down by the Dutch, and the Company's houses and stores at Jaccatra burnt, and their treasure taken away;—that Bantam had been blockaded by the Dutch, for six years together, whereby the English were deprived of the benefit of that trade;—that the shipping and subjects of the Mogul had been protected by the Dutch, against the English;—that the Dutch had committed piracies in the Red Sea, under the English flag, for which the Company had to pay 103,000 rials of eight;—that a great quantity of pepper had, in the year 1649, been taken by the Dutch, out of one of the Company's ships at Indrapora; and that, on the whole, they had, during the last twenty years, sustained losses from the Dutch, to the amount of two millions sterling;—that they had repeatedly represented their grievances to the late King and his Council, but never could obtain any reparation; and therefore prayed, that their case might be taken into consideration, and that satisfaction should be demanded from the States General, for the losses which they had sustained, and particularly that the Island of Polaroon should be restored to them.

—referred to the Council of State.

The Company had evidently been encouraged to present this petition, from its being immediately taken into consideration, and from the reference which was made by the Parliament to the Council of State, at this period, looking forward to an approaching war with the Dutch; for, on the same day

day on which it was presented, it was resolved, by a vote of the Parliament, that the petition of the East-India Company should be referred to the consideration of the Council of State. (1)

Captain Blackman appointed President of Surat, with instructions to suppress Private Trade.

The encouragement and protection which the Parliament and Council of State were expected to afford to the Company, discover the source of the new regulations which the Court of Committees of the East-India Company established for their two foreign Presidencies. At Surat, the President and Council had, besides their allowances, been permitted to trade in articles, not included in the Company's investments, or had opportunities to engage in commercial projects, which were now held to be inconsistent with the full discharge of their duties:—To remedy these evils, Captain Jeremy Blackman was appointed President at Surat, who was to receive, as a compensation, a salary of £500 per annum, for five years, to commence from the day of his leaving England, and to continue till his return:—He was instructed to make a general survey of all the dependencies of that Presidency; to reduce the charges at each of them, as far as might be consistent with the promotion of trade; and, as the Company were now connected with the Assada Merchants, he was, on his outward passage, to examine the state of this colony, and to afford the Agent such directions as would more fully establish the intercourse between Assada and Surat, By this regulation, the Court expected to render the union, between them and the Assada Merchants, as practicable, as the

(1)—Petition of the East-India Company to the Parliament, and Vote of Parliamen thereon, 14th November 1650. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 176.)

CHAP. I. 1650-51. the relative situation of this colony, and the Company's settlements, would permit. (1)

Similar instructions given to the President and Council of Bantam.

Similar instructions were framed, and sent to the President and Council of Bantam, which, after enumerating the arbitrary proceedings of the Dutch, in excluding the English from the Spice Islands, and, by their vast imports of pepper, lowering the price of that article in Europe, ordered, that in future, the investments from Bantam should consist of as large a proportion of nutmegs, mace, &c., as could be obtained; and that the spare tonnage only should be filled up with pepper; and this pepper to be sent for sale to Surat, that the tonnage might be filled up with goods from that port, because the Europe market had been so glutted by the quantities of pepper imported by the Dutch, that it would not sell, at the Company's home sales, but at a loss. The ship Supply, Captain Bearblock, consigned this year, to Bantam was, also, in her outward voyage, to touch at Assada, and to take in such articles as that colony afforded, suited to the Bantam market.

These instructions to Surat and Bantam discover the real state of the Company's affairs at home, at the time when it began to act in connexion with the Assada Merchants, and that the Court was disposed to give a fair trial to the experiment of uniting the trade of the Company, with this projected experiment of trade, on the Coast of Africa. (2)

The

(1)—Commission and Instructions from the Court to Captain Jeremy Blackman, as President of Surat, 14th March 1650-51.

(2)—Letter from the Court to the President and Council at Bantam, 29th May 1650. —— Instructions from the Court to Captain Bearblock, of the ship Supply, for his voyage to Assada and Bantam, 1st May 1650.

CHAP. I.
1650-51.
The Presidency of Surat obtain Phirmaunds from the Mogul, for the enlargement of their privileges.

The Presidency of SURAT, though informed of the fall of the Monarchy, could not, in this season, be acquainted with the transactions, between the Company, the Parliament, and the Council of State; and therefore remained under the necessity of adopting such measures, for the preservation of their factory and trade, as local circumstances required, and to obtain as large a proportion of indigo, and finer cloths and saltpetre, as might be practicable, to meet the orders of the Court. As the season advanced, they found it expedient to dispatch Mr. Davidge, as their Agent, to the Mogul's court, to solicit redress for the loss of one of their caravans, which had been robbed, and Phirmaunds for their trade, in the different Mogul provinces. On reaching Delhi, he was so fortunate as to obtain the protection of Sultan Darah, the Mogul's eldest son, and after a long negotiation, to receive five separate Phirmaunds, for liberty of trade to the English in the Mogul provinces, with an exemption from payment of duties, and a promise of satisfaction being made to the Company, in the event of any of their caravans being stopped, or robbed. Under this encouragement, the Presidency of Surat resolved, that, as it had been determined in England to continue the trade on an United Joint Stock, they would persevere in forming an investment; not because, at this crisis, the trade was profitable, but because, in those troublesome and dangerous times, it was necessary to preserve the trade from passing entirely into the hands of the Dutch.

 If

CHAP. I.
1650-51.

Company's credit at Surat improved by a large receipt of Stock.

If the remittances from the funds of the Second General Voyage, and of the Fourth Joint Stock, had, in the last year, enabled this Presidency to discharge a large proportion of their debts, and raised their credit, the information of the intention of the Company to form an United Joint Stock, had, this year, so greatly improved that credit, that, without difficulty, they could, at any time, borrow £20,000, at twelve per cent.

Under the new Phirmaunds, the Presidency obtained a good investment of indigo and finer cloths, and, with difficulty, a small quantity of saltpetre; but, as soon as they should receive intelligence that the Company's affairs had been settled in Europe, and that their sales had again become regular, the utmost efforts would be made to increase the trade.

The settlers on the Island of Assada offer to resign the plantation to the Presidency of Surat.

As information of the agreement which had taken place in England, between the Company and the Assada Merchants, had not been received at Surat, the Presidency reported to the Court, that this plantation had failed, by the persons sent to it having been reduced, by sickness, to a small number, and that the survivors had offered to resign the plantation to the Company, and to place it at the disposal of the Presidency:—an event, which was almost a commentary on the answers which the Court had made to the Council of State, of the precarious and unpromising project of uniting that trade with the English settlements in the East-Indies; illustrating thus, by fact, that however promising, in speculation, the schemes of the Interlopers might be, in England, a short experiment had proved them to be impracticable; and, as a farther evidence of this

CHAP. I. 1650-51.

Courten's factors at Rajahpore offer to transfer their factory to the Company.

this truth, that, last year, Courten's factors at Rajahpore had offered to transfer their right to that port to the Company; and, in this year, so low had their character sunk, that one of their ships hadbeen seized, by order of the King of Visiapore, as a security for the payment of the debts, due to him, and to his subjects. (1)

The Persian trade and customs precarious, from the power of the Dutch in the Gulf.

The evils which the Agents in Persia apprehended, in the preceding year, when the King, and his nobles, should receive intelligence of the disastrous issue of the civil wars in England, were probably prevented, by the continuance of the war between the King of Persia and the Mogul, and by the danger to the Persian dominions, of an invasion by an army of Usbeck Tartars: towards the close of the season, however, the war with the Mogul had terminated, and the trade at Gombroon, between the Mogul's subjects and the Persians, began to revive, which having been inland, by caravans, during the war, had not, as yet, increased the customs at this port, and, of course, had left the English proportion of them, low, and not equal to what might have been expected, when the navigation of the Gulf had again become open. A change, however, had taken place, in this year, which materially affected the trade of Persia:—the Dutch factory at Gombroon had received large stock, and ten of their ships had arrived at this port, which had given them a preponderance in the trade:—the Portuguese, also, had

(1)—Letters from the President and Council at Surat to the Court, 24th October 1650, and 21st February 1650-51.—— Letter from the Agent and Council at Agra to the Court, 8th March 1650-51.

CHAP. I.
1650-51.

had been expelled from Muscat, and could no longer resist the Dutch in the Persian Gulf; and though, on their again becoming a separate sovereignty in Europe, they concluded a kind of truce, yet not having received reinforcements or supplies for two years, it was probable that the Dutch would take advantage of their defenceless situation, and renew the war with them, and, if so, would expel them from the Indian Seas.(1)

The trade at Madras and Masulipatam depressed, by the wars between the Kings of Visiapore and Golcondah.

The districts in the vicinity of MADRAS and MASULIPATAM had not recovered from the effects of the desultory war in 1648-49, between the Kings of Visiapore and Golcondah, which had almost ruined the cloth trade at the principal towns; and this had induced the Agents and Factors at Fort St. George, to fit out a vessel for Pegu, with a small stock, to endeavor to open a trade with that country; and another, under the command of Captain Brookhaven, to attempt trade, either at Ballasore, or to establish a factory at Hughly, on the basis of the King's Phirmaund for a free trade in Bengal; but the seas, between the Straits of Malacca and the Ganges, were, at this time, so covered with Dutch cruisers, that the results of these experiments were precarious.

To recover the trade at Fort St. George, or at the Company's factories at Masulipatam, Verasheroon, and Pettipolee, the fort must be strengthened, and have a sufficient garrison; and the subordinate factories must either receive full repairs, or the Company's

(1)—Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 24th October and 21st February 1650-51.—— Letter from the Agent and Council at Gombroon to the Court, 21st February 1650-51.

Company's trade on the Coromandel Coast, be confined to Madras only. An inventory, at this time, was taken of all the quick and dead stock, and debts of the Second General Voyage, and the balance carried to the credit of the United Stock.

The King of Golcondah proposes to form a joint coasting trade with the English.

The station of Madras having been obtained from the King of Golcondah, and the English trade appearing to him to be of great consequence, he made a proposal, this season, to the Agent and Council, of forming a Joint Stock with the Company, on which a coasting trade might be carried on, between the ports of his dominions, and those of the other Indian powers.

The Portuguese, by interfering with the religion of the natives, expose the settlements of the Europeans to great danger.

When Fort St. George was first established, the Portuguese at St. Thomé had afforded assistance to the English Agents, and the two settlements had continued on the best terms, though the Portuguese had not always, by their improvident zeal to make converts, remained in amity with the natives; and, in this season, an incident occurred, which had nearly endangered the permanency of their establishments at St. Thomé:—one of their Padres had refused to allow a procession of the Hindoo religious ceremonies to pass his church; in this dispute the English, most wisely, avoided interfering, and, after relating the transaction, gave the following opinion to the Court, of the impracticability of overcoming the religious prejudices of the natives:—" by this, you may judge of the lyon by his paw, and " plainely discerne, what small hopes, and how much danger " wee have of converting these people, y[t] are not lyke y[e] naked " and brut Americans, but a most subtle and pollitique nation, " who are so zealous in their religions, or rather superstitions,

" y[t]

CHAP. I. 1650-51.

"y[t] even amongst their owne differing casts, is grounded an irre-"concilable hatred, w[ch] often produceth very bloodie effects." (1)

Trade at Bantam continued to be oppressed by the Dutch.

In 1650-51, the Presidency of BANTAM continued to experience oppressions from the Dutch; but the Company's affairs had been conducted with more than usual accuracy, and this station had remained safe, though the trade was difficult. In obedience to the orders from England, they informed the Court, that they had transferred the money and goods belonging to the *Second General Voyage*, to the amount of 158,000 rials, to the credit of the *Fourth Joint Stock*, and drawn bills on England for the amount, at the rate of five shillings and sixpence sterling, per rial of eight. (2)

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Council at Fort St. George to the Court, 18th January 1650.—— Letter from the Agent at Masulipatam to the Court, 28th February 1650-51.

(2)—Letter from the President and Council of Bantam to the Court, dated 21st December 1650.

1651-52.

CHAP. I.
1651-52.
Commonwealth established, and a foreign war expedient, to find employment for the fleets and armies.

In 1651-52, Admiral Blake reduced the European dependencies of the kingdom (Jersey, Guernsey, &c.) and forced the Portuguese to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Council of State; General Ireton subjugated Ireland, and General Monk, Scotland; and the Commonwealth was establishing: but as the large army and navy, now at its disposal, were no longer wanted in England, and might become dangerous to Cromwell, and to the other leaders, it was necessary to find a foreign enemy, in a war with whom, riches might be acquired by the English leaders, and employment given to the forces which had overset the Monarchy.

During the civil wars, the Dutch observed a neutrality; but, from the connexion of the English Royal Family with the House of Orange, the States General hesitated, after the King's death, to pass immediately from their alliance with the Crown of England, to connexions with the Usurpers of the government.

It was foreseen, that, prizes might be made of the Dutch shipping in the European seas, which would furnish resources to the new Government of England; and though the republican party in Holland, after the death of Prince William

CHAP. I. 1651-52. of Orange, acquired the ascendency, all their advances to Cromwell were ineffectual :—hence the two nations, which, in Europe, had been united, from the reign of Elizabeth, were preparing for that naval war, which could only weaken the real strength of both. What rendered this war popular in England, was the Act of Navigation, which passed in this year, and the oppressions experienced by the London East-India Company, which were adduced by the Council of State, as one of the reasons of the declaration of war against the States General.

Company petition Parliament for redress of grievances from the Dutch;

In the year 1650-51, the Company had presented a petition to the Parliament, praying for redress of grievances from the Dutch, and this petition had been referred to the Council of State:—in 1651-52, they renewed this application, to mark their reliance on the Council, and to keep out of view, questions respecting their privileges, which might lead to discussions prejudicial to their Charter.

The Company, after adverting to their former petition to the Parliament, and to the reference made to the Council of State, renewed their application to this Council, on the 9th May 1651, in which, after repeating their former grounds of complaint, they prayed, that as Ambassadors were expected from the States General, the affairs of the East-India Company might be reconsidered, and satisfaction, at last, obtained, for the injuries they had sustained from the Dutch Company. This petition was accompanied with a statement of the real losses from the Dutch, subsequent to the treaty of 1622, estimated at

£1,681,996

CHAP. I. 1651-52.

£1,681,996. 15s., besides interest, which would amount to a larger sum than the principal.(1)

—and for a fleet, to protect their homeward-bound shipping;

When the war with Holland became more probable, the Company, in the month of June, presented a third Petition to the Council, in which they expressed their apprehensions for the safely of their homeward-bound fleet, consisting of five ships, with valuable cargoes, particularly saltpetre, the importation of which they had directed their Presidencies and Factories to make a principal article in the investment; and prayed that ships of war might be stationed off the Land's-End, or the Isles of Scilly, to protect their fleet into the Downs.(2)

—and for authority to enforce obedience in their servants in India.

Having been, for years, without proper authority in the Presidencies in India (more particularly since Courten's shipping had made encroachments on their trade) to enforce obedience in the English subjects within their limits, the Company presented an address to the Council of State, praying that powers might be given, under the Great Seal of England, to their Presidents and Councils in India, to enforce obedience in all Englishmen, resident within their jurisdiction, and to punish offenders, conformably to the laws of England.(3)

3 N 2 While

(1)—Petition of the East-India Company to the Council of State, 9th May 1651, and Account of Losses sustained from the Dutch, accompanying it. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, Nos. 179, 180).

(2)—Petition of the East-India Company to the Council of State, respecting their homeward fleet, 21st June 1651. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 181).

(3)—Petition of the East-India Company to the Council of State, respecting a Grant of powers to enforce obedience to their orders in India, 22d October 1651. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 183).

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1651-52.

a weight in the Persian market, the English trade was necessarily on the decline; both from a scarcity of money, and from the sales of their imports having been dull:—a proportion of goods had, however, been sent to Ispahan, by two caravans, and the Court's orders had been executed, of estimating all the quick and dead stock by appraisement, and carrying the amount to the credit of the United Stock. The Company's proportion of the customs at Gombroon, this season, amounted to seven hundred and fifty Tomands, which had been the principal resource of the Agent, who trusted, that when the troubles in England should subside, and the requisite funds be remitted, the example of the Dutch, who had sent a strong fleet into the Persian Gulf, would be followed, as a more efficacious plan, for reviving and invigorating the Persian trade, than the precarious expedient of negotiation.(1)

The Council at Fort St. George remonstrate against the Court's order for discontinuing the fortifications, as the Dutch had improved those at Pullicat.

The Agent and Council at Fort St. George having received the Court's directions to keep the fort, in its present situation, and not to add to its strength, that the charges might be kept as low as possible, expressed their deep regret at this hazardous measure; because Fort St. George formed the only security to the inland trade, and the principal protection to the Company's shipping. Of so much importance was this fort, that the Agent and Council attributed the prosperity of the Dutch trade, on the Coromandel Coast, to their having added to the fortifications at Pullicat,

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 8th April and 30th October 1651, and 10th January 1651-52.—— Letter from the Agent and Council of Gombroon to the Court, 8th May 1651.

Pullicat, and increased the effective strength of its garrison; and they had sent a Commissary, to solicit an enlargement of their privileges from the Nabob, and to be allowed to rent some of the neighbouring towns, for which they had offered to pay considerable sums, if a free trade should be allowed them, without payment of customs:—this Dutch agent was coolly received by the Nabob, and referred to the King of Golcondah, then at Gundicotta, to which place he had proceeded, but, at the close of the season, the result of this negotiation was not known.

These facts induced the Agent and Council of Fort St. George to submit, that if the Company wished to extend their trade on the Coromandel Coast, permission must be given to add to the strength of the fort, and to encrease the garrison.

Obtain a Phirmaund from the Nabob for inland trade.

An additional Phirmaund had been obtained from the Nabob, authorizing the Company to make purchases of Coast cloths and other goods, without restriction, in all the towns of his district; the effect of this grant had hitherto been inconsiderable, from the existing wars between the Kings of Golcondah and Visiapore, and the Hindoos. As no notice is taken of the alarming dispute between the Portuguese and the Natives, it is probable it had been compromised. The investment in cloths, from these circumstances, was not considerable, and a small quantity, only, of saltpetre could be collected on the Coast.

The Factors in Bengal obtain a Phirmaund for trade, on payment of three thousand rupees.

The Factors in Bengal had been more successful, having, for three thousand rupees, obtained a Phirmaund for free trade, without payment of customs. This expence, (if the Company's trade in that country could be supplied with sufficient stock,)

would

CHAP. I. 1651-52. would soon be reimbursed: but, what was of most importance, an indefinite quantity of saltpetre could be purchased in Bengal, particularly at Ballasore, and at Hughly; the Dutch in this year, and indeed annually, having shipped above two thousand tons from Pipley, the port at which the English first obtained the Mogul's Phirmaund for liberty of trade.(1)

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Council of Fort St. George to the Court, 14th January 1651-52.

1652-53.

CHAP. I.
1652-53.
The Commonwealth confirmed, and applications of the Company, and of individuals, against the Dutch, encouraged by the Council of State.

It has hitherto been required, from the changing aspects of the English government, from a Monarchy to a Commonwealth, to refer, annually, to the forms which it assumed; because the London East-India Company were under the necessity of accommodating their applications to the existing government, or to the Protector, and the Council of State, as they appeared either disposed to listen to their complaints, or inclined to afford protection to their chartered rights and exclusive privileges.—As Cromwell carefully concealed his real reasons of State, for engaging in a war with the Dutch, the Company were obliged to accommodate their applications to the probable appearances of the differences, between the Commonwealth and the Dutch, being adjusted, or to the actual prospect of war.

At the beginning of this season, the disputes between, the English and Dutch, seemed to be in a train of adjustment; but complaints by individuals, and by the Company, of injuries sustained from the Dutch, were invited, and readily received by the Council of State:—all these complaints went to one point, or to impress the public with an opinion, that war with the Dutch had become a matter of necessity. After, however, the war actually commenced, those complaints were necessarily suspended; and the Council of State had an opportunity of impressing the

CHAP. I. 1652-53. public, as well as the Company, with an opinion, that, should the issue be fortunate, the grievances of the nation in the East-Indies would be redressed, and a full compensation made, for the losses which they had sustained. Cromwell, thus, rendered the aggression of the Dutch a justifiable cause of war, and conciliated the minds of the public to this event, from a belief that the encouragement of trade, and the protection of the English nation, were the real motives for those hostilities, which, in fact, proceeded from the necessity of the Usurper to find a foreign enemy, against whom he might employ that army, and that navy, which had levelled the Throne, and which, if unemployed, might have reflected upon the crimes, of which they had been made the deluded instruments.

Farther petitions of the Company and of individuals to the Council of State, for redress against the Dutch.

While negotiation with the Dutch was practicable, applications for redress of grievances were readily received, and individuals and their families, or representatives, encouraged to offer them, not only by specifying the original sums at which they computed their losses, but the accumulation of interest on those sums, and the probable profits to which (had the owners of them been allowed to proceed with their trade) they would have amounted, at the date of the applications. It was not, however, left to particular applications, calculated, (by the natural interest taken in them in almost every part of England,) to turn the popular feeling against the Dutch, but the East-India Company, also, were encouraged, while the treaty was pending, to renew their applications for redress to the Council of State.

By

By a petition, in the early part of 1652, the Company recapitulated the injuries and losses they had sustained from the Dutch East-India Company, and that they had not been able, hitherto, to obtain that redress, which they trusted would now be insisted on, in the negotiations pending between England and Holland, and particularly, that the Islands of Polaroon and Polaway should be restored to them. CHAP. I. 1652-53.

War declared against Holland.

At this crisis, hostilities commenced between Admiral Blake and the Dutch Admiral, Van Tromp; but this event, instead of producing an immediate declaration of war, induced the States to send Adrian Paaw, as Ambassador Extraordinary, to attempt the accommodation of the dispute. The Company, strangers to the motives of Cromwell and his Council, and uncertain whether a treaty, or a war, might be the result, presented another petition, in July 1652, praying, as they understood the Dutch had given in an account of pretended losses from the English, in the East-Indies, to an amount exceeding that which the English had really experienced, that a copy of this account might be afforded them, that they might give a just and accurate answer thereto, "whereby to make the right appear;" but in the month of August 1652, as neither the Council of State, nor the Dutch Ambassadors, would recede from the terms upon which each had insisted, the negotiations broke off, and formal manifestos, and declarations of war, were published by both parties. (1)

3 O 2 While

(1)—Petition of Richard Newland to the Council of State, for satisfaction of losses sustained from the Dutch in the East-Indies, and interest thereon. May 1652.

Petition

CHAP. I.
1652-53.
Accounts of the Fourth Joint Stock adjusted.

While the Court were under this uncertainty, respecting the issue of their applications to the Council of State, they were employed in making up the accounts of the Fourth Joint Stock, for

Petition and Affidavit of Pleasance Pane, widow of Michael Pane, for satisfaction of losses in the East-Indies, in the year 1618, and interest thereon, to the amount of £10,000. April 1652.

Petition and Affidavit of John Tucker, for satisfaction of losses in the year 1619, and interest, to the amount of £12,000. April 1652.

Petition of Henry Coulson, for satisfaction for the murder of his brother, Samuel Coulson, at Amboyna, in 1622.

Petition of Jane Staunton, widow of Robert Staunton, for losses sustained from the Dutch, in 1619, to the amount of £400.

Petition of Joan Battichel, widow of Henry Battichel, for losses sustained from the Dutch, in 1619, to the amount of £2,500.

Petition of Captain Hackwell, for losses sustained by his brother, William Highet, for losses sustained, in the year 1619, to the amount of £2,500.

Petition of Margery Carter, widow of Thomas Woolman, for losses sustained, in 1619, to the amount of £1,200.

Petition of Sarah Wills, widow of Joseph Wills, for losses sustained, in 1618, to the amount of £400, with interest.

Petition of Thomas Roswell, for losses sustained, in 1618, to the amount of £800.

Petition of Katherine Dover, widow of William Rockwell, for losses sustained, in 1618, to the amount of £3,000.

Petition of Rachel Fletcher, widow of Thomas Fletcher, for losses, in 1616, to the amount of £2,000.

Petition of Henry Abdy, son of Philip Abdy, for losses, in 1618, to the amount of £3,000.

Petition of Joan Butler, widow of Kenelm Butler, for losses, in 1619, to the amount of £2,000.

Petition of Katherine Dover, sister of Hugh Woodlock, for losses, in 1619, to the amount of £10,000.

Petition of Nicholas Smith, for losses, in 1619, to the amount of £2,000.

Petition of Joan Cotterell, widow of William Cotterell, for losses, in 1619, to the amount of £3,000.

Petition

for the purpose of merging it into the United Stock After long investigation, this was effected, on the 22d December 1652, when a General Court of Committees of both Stocks was held, and the amount of the Fourth Joint Stock, made up to November 1651, was laid before them, amounting to £30,246: — this General Court decided, that £20,000 should be paid to the holders of the Fourth Joint Stock, as a part of the sums due to them, and that the remainder should be adjusted, and finally settled, at a subsequent meeting of the Generality. (1)

The foreign Presidencies and Agencies vested with discretionary powers.

It does not appear, in the home transactions of this season, that any specific instructions had been framed, or conveyed to the Company's foreign Presidencies and Factories, and, indeed, from the

Petition of Martha Vitry, widow of William Vitry, for losses, in 1619, to the amount of £300.

Petition of Jane Webber, widow of William Webber, for losses, in 1622, to the amount of near £1,000, and interest.

Petition of Matthew Wills, heir of Matthew Wills, for losses, in 1618, to the amount of £3,000.

Petition of Sarah Lane, widow of Jacob Lane, for losses, in 1618, to the amount of £3,500.

Petition of Elizabeth Swanley, widow of Richard Swanley, for losses, in 1616, to the amount of above £1,500.

General Petition of the Captains, Seamen, Widows, and Orphans, for losses and injuries sustained from the Dutch in the East-Indies, subsequent to the year 1619. (East India Papers, in the State Paper Office, No. 185.)

Petition of the East India Company to the Council of State, for redress of grievances sustained from the Dutch, particularly the Massacre at Amboyna and the Seizure of Polaroon. (East India Papers in the State Paper Office, 1652, No. 135.)

Petition of the East India Company to the Council of State, requesting a copy of the demands of the Dutch. 9th July, 1652. (East India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 186.)

(1)—Minute of a Meeting of the Committees of the Fourth Joint Stock, and United Stock, 22d December 1652. (Vol. iii, No. 241).

CHAP. I. 1652-53.

the events which had taken place between the Company and the Council of State, it was scarcely possible that any thing, beyond the discretionary powers with which, during the troubles, they had been obliged to vest them, could have been devised. In a preceding season, from the low price of pepper in Europe, the Presidency of Bantam had been directed to send such quantity of this article, as they might have collected, to Surat, for sale, and not to ship any for Europe:—the Presidency of Bantam, however, disregarding this order, had shipped pepper to a large amount for England, for payment of which they drew one bill on the Court, in favor of the executors of one of their Council, and another, in favor of a Dutch merchant of Amsterdam; both bills the Generality, or Court of Proprietors, ordered to be dishonored, and directed the Presidency of Bantam to sell the pepper in the country, and with the money it might bring, to discharge the debt; adding, that, in future, the Court would expect implicit obedience to their orders.(1)

The Presidency of Surat apply to the Mogul, for protection against the Dutch.

In the preceding season, the Phirmaunds of the Mogul had supported the Company's trade at SURAT, by the money saved by exemptions from the payment of the duties, and customs; but the investment was small, from the vague information which the Presidency had received of a probability of a war in Europe, between England and Portugal, which had obliged them to proceed with

(1)—Letter from the Court to the President and Council at Fort St. George, 10th February 1652-53.

with caution towards the Portuguese, not having fleets or force to act offensively, either against their shipping, or their fortified stations; and, in this year, they were farther alarmed, by accounts from Europe, of war having been declared, between the Commonwealth of England and the States General.

The immediate effect of this intelligence was, that the native merchants were afraid to load their goods on board of English vessels, lest they might be captured by the Dutch fleets. In this situation, the President and Council had recourse to the expedient of sending an agent to Delhi, to represent to the Mogul, the hazardous state in which their Factories were placed, by being exposed to a powerful European enemy, and to pray for his protection.

In communicating this measure to the Directors, they submitted the necessity of applying to the Parliament, for four or five large ships of war, and seven or eight lesser armed vessels, to proceed direct to the Indian Seas, both to afford protection to the Company's Presidencies and Factories, and to act offensively against the Dutch.

Obtain a Phirmaund for protection, and increased privileges.

The Agent sent to the Mogul succeeded in his mission; for a Phirmaund was obtained, granting general privileges of trade to the English, and an exemption from being questioned for any irregularities or depredations, which the other European nations might commit in the Indian Seas. This Phirmaund appears to have been founded on a contract, concluded between the Governor and principal inhabitants of Surat, and the President and Council, which stipulated, that the Company were to be allowed free trade, at the different ports, and inland, in the Mogul's

CHAP. I. 1652-53.

Mogul's dominions, from Scindy to Bengal;—that their Agents, attending the transit of their goods, were to be charged only the usual rates of carriage;—and that they were to be allowed, under their former Phirmaunds, to ship their goods from one port in India to another, without repeating the payment of duties;—that their servants were to be permitted to recover their debts, agreeably to the laws of the country, and, in the event of death, that their property was to be preserved, and delivered to the representatives of the Company;—and, lastly, that the President and Council were to pay a fixed rent for their house and factory at Surat, for the term of seven years.

Recommend that Bombay and Bassein should be purchased from the Portuguese.

As such grants constituted the only security which the Company could obtain, at the ports, or in the dominions of the Mogul, the Presidency of Surat were looking for some insular or fortified station, in which their property and persons might be secure, should a civil war break out, or an European enemy attack their defenceless factories, or houses of trade; and gave it as their opinion, that, for a reasonable consideration, the Portuguese would allow them to take possession of Bombay, and of Bassein.

The report on the trade was, that they had disposed of the greatest part of the English broad-cloth at Agra, where it had been sold to greater advantage than in Persia, to which they had not shipped any this season;—that as Indian goods could be obtained at the same prices at Agra, as at Lucknow, they had withdrawn the factory from the latter place; and, on the whole, had collected a moderate investment for the shipping

expected

CHAP. I. 1652-53.

expected from Europe, though they had experienced considerable embarrassment, from the interferences of the private traders, who could not be checked in India, but must (if the Company's trade was to continue) be placed under restraints in England.(1)

State of the trade in Persia, before the intelligence of the Dutch war was received.

The situation of the trade in PERSIA, in 1652-53, was affected by the information of the war, which had taken place in Europe, between England and Holland. Before this intelligence reached Persia, the Dutch, by the magnitude of their fleets and stock, and by their unwearied applications to the King and to the Shahbunder, at Gombroon, for privileges equal, if not superior, to those of the English, had so far succeeded, that their credit was raised in the country, and the commercial transactions of the English depressed. These circumstances obliged the Agents to apply to the King for a Phirmaund, to declare that the Dutch were liable to the payment of the English moiety of customs at Gombroon, though, by grant, they were exempted from the payment of the moiety belonging to the King; but the Agents despaired of recovering the Company's just proportion, unless the appearance of an English fleet, in the Persian Gulf, with forces to cooperate with it, should give to them that power, by which the Dutch had acquired a preponderance in the trade. It was the magnitude of their fleets and cargoes, the former

(1)—Letters from the Presidency of Surat to the Court, 10th December 1652, and 17th January and 23d March 1652-53.—— Contract between the Governor and principal Inhabitants of Surat and the Company, and Copy of Phirmaund confirming this Contract, dated the 25th of Shah Jehanguire, (1653). (East-India Papers in the Indian Register Office, marked F. 1, pages 213, 229).

CHAP. I. 1652-53. consisting of fifteen sail, the latter estimated at 40,750 Tomands, which had enabled the Dutch, this season, not only to obtain a favorable reception to a Commissary whom they had sent to Ispahan, but to make purchases of a large proportion of Persian produce:—such, however, was the effect of the long subsisting commercial intercourse between the Company and Persia, that the application of the Dutch Commissary to the King, for the same privileges which the English had enjoyed, was refused, and the reason assigned was, "that the Dutch had not performed the same services to the "King, which the English had done:"—Combining, however, commerce with intrigue, the Dutch Commissary had, from the large stock of which he had the command, entered into a contract to purchase silk, on very high and disadvantageous terms, with the sole object of rendering the English investment in this article, inconsiderable. The English Agent at Ispahan had been well received at Court, and had obtained permission to purchase silk, in any of the Persian Provinces; and this had enabled him to collect an assortment of it, for the investment, at reasonable rates.

— After the knowledge of that event reached Persia.

After the intelligence of the war in Europe, between the English and the Dutch, had reached Persia, the Agents at Gombroon and Ispahan became apprehensive, that the large fleets in the Gulf might induce the King to grant privileges to the Dutch, equal to those which the English enjoyed, and might expose the Company's ships, between Gombroon and Surat, to capture:—This alarm was increased, when it was discovered that the Dutch,

Dutch, on receiving intelligence of the war, had proposed a cessation of hostilities, in India, between them and the Portuguese, that they might direct the whole of their force against the English trade and factories : the Agent at Ispahan, however, trusted that the Portuguese, from their having a large naval force in the Indies, and a considerable proportion of it stationed in the Persian Gulf, would not accede to this proposal.

The account given of the state of the market at Gombroon, was discouraging, as the Agent had not received any new supply of broad-cloths this year, which had obliged him to raise the price of the small quantity in store;—an inventory, however, had been made of all the Company's goods, remaining in Persia, which were estimated at upwards of £40,000, and eight hundred Tomands had been received at Gombroon, as the Company's proportion of customs, for last season.[1]

Measures at Fort St. George, after receiving intelligence of the war with Holland.

The Agent and Council at Fort St. George, having received intelligence of the probability of a war, between England and Holland, gave it as their opinion, to the Presidency of Surat, that whatever might be the issue of such a war in Europe, the Company, from the superiority of the Dutch power in India, must be sufferers :—in the prospect of it, the fortifications of Fort St. George ought to be completed, and in particular, a curtain towards the sea must be built, without which the place could not be in a state of security ; and a reinforcement

3 P 2

sent

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 26th November 1653, and 18th January 1653-54.—— Letters from the Agents and Councils at Ispahan and Gombroon, to the Court, 4th April, 6th May, 18th August, and 30th September 1653.

CHAP. I. 1652-53. sent for the garrison, which, at this time, amounted only to twenty-six English soldiers. It had required the utmost vigilance of the Governor and Council to prevent the native merchants and artisans from deserting the town, which would do material injury to the Company's trade, both in sales and in purchases, and lower the amount of duties, which went, in part, to defray the charges of the establishment. (1)

The Court not having received, in this season, any direct communications from BANTAM, the state of the trade, at this Presidency, can only be collected from the references which will be made to it, in the Annals of the subsequent year.

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Council of Fort St. George to the President and Council at Surat, 5th February 1652-53.

1653-54.

CHAP. I. 1653-54. The Parliament dissolved, and Cromwell declared Protector.

If the establishment of the Council of State, and the obsequiousness of the Parliament to its orders, had hitherto maintained the administration of the Commonwealth in England, and if a foreign enemy had been selected by Cromwell, to divert the public attention from the power which he had assumed, events, in this year, occurred, which altered the frame of the government:—the army, devoted to Cromwell, was selected by him to counteract the opposition, which appeared in that very Parliament, which had been the source of his ambitious projects, but which he now, by force, dismissed. To find supplies, he selected another Parliament, consisting of persons little qualified to discharge their duties; which, after sitting five months, resigned their authority into the hands of the Council of State, by whom Cromwell was declared *Protector of the Commonwealth*, with the title of Highness, and, as such, acknowledged by the three kingdoms.

Though the English and Dutch had been alternately successful in this eventful year, the superiority of the English fleets was established, and the States General began to make approaches to a treaty of peace. Reference is made to these events, to mark the actual state of the Government, and, from it,

to

CHAP. I. 1653-54.

Company petition Cromwell to be allowed to make reprisals on the Dutch, and propose to raise a subscription for that purpose.

to trace the measures which a subordinate body, like the East-India Company, adopted; and they will afford an interesting view of the public feelings, when the sovereignty was so rapidly passing into the hands of the Usurper.

The London East-India Company, at this critical period, endeavoured to accommodate their proceedings, not only to the shifting aspects which the Government was assuming, but to the popular feelings respecting the war with the Dutch;—instead of repeating their general complaints for redress of grievances, they presented a petition to the Council of State, praying for permission to become parties in the war, and to send a fleet of armed ships to the East-Indies, that they might obtain, by force, reparation for those injuries, which, for so many years, they had, in vain, endeavoured to procure, by negotiation. This petition stated, that as the London East-India Company had sustained damages from the Dutch, to the amount of some hundred thousand pounds, and, notwithstanding applications to Government for twenty-nine years, had been unable to receive satisfaction, it had at last become their wish (if they should obtain permission from the Council of State) to open a new Subscription to defray the charges of some ships of war to be sent to the East-Indies, to make reprisals on the Dutch, and, therefore, prayed the Council of State to lend them five or six frigates for this purpose, and to grant protection from impress to the seamen to be employed in this service. (1)

Annexed

(1)—Petition of the East-India Company to the Council of State, for five or six ships to

Annexed to this petition, the Company submitted the Preamble for the Subscription which was to defray the charges of this armament :—it set forth, that the Company, having taken into their consideration the insupportable damages and wrongs which, for a long series of years, they had sustained from the Netherlands East-India Company, particularly the massacre at Amboyna; the dispossessing them of the Islands of Lantore and Polaroon; the seizing by force the ship Endymion, in the year 1649, and still retaining the cargo of this ship; the excluding them from the trade from this period, and the capture of four of their ships in the Gulf of Persia, the crews of which were kept in irons, which had brought dishonor on the nation, and injury to the London Company; had resolved to send ships of war into the East-Indies, to make reprisals on the Dutch, and to recover their losses, as well as to vindicate the character of the nation; the profits and losses from this expedition, to be divided among the subscribers :—they, therefore, proposed that all persons should be allowed to subscribe such sums as they might conceive requisite, to carry this design into execution. (1)

The more effectually to induce the Council of State to second this enterprize, the Company requested, by an additional petition,

to be sent to the East-Indies, to make reprisals against the Dutch, 9th September 1653. (East India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 189).

(1)—Preamble to a Subscription for Reprisals against the Dutch, annexed to the Petition of the East-India Company to the Council of State, 9th September 1653. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 189).

CHAP. I. 1653-54.

petition, that they would be pleased to allow them to fit out the ship Eagle, (which had served in the fleet employed against the Dutch,) to be dispatched to the East-Indies, to bring to Europe a cargo of saltpetre, and that the crew, consisting of eighty seamen and twenty landmen, might receive a protection against being impressed, or prevented from a voyage of such consequence to the public service.[1]

In this situation the Company were placed, at the period when their outward-bound ships were preparing for their annual voyage; and though, in this season, from the continuance of the naval war, these applications were not decided on, the Council of State assisted the Company, in supporting their credit, by issuing an order to pay them £10,670, being the price of one hundred and ten tons of refined saltpetre, furnished for the public service, at the rate of £4. 17*s.* per hundred weight, one moiety of which was to be paid on the 20th of June, and the other, on the 20th of December ensuing.[2]

The Mogul refuses to interfere in the war between the English and Dutch.

The intelligence of the war between the English and the Dutch, in Europe, reached Surat in March 1653, when the Dutch

(1)—Petition of the East-India Company to the Council of State, for protection for the Crew of their Ship Eagle against being impressed, 3d October 1653. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 190).

(2)—Ordinance of the Council of State, to pay £10,670 to the East-India Company, for Saltpetre, 28th January 1653-54. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 191).

Dutch factory formally declared war against England:—on this event, the President and Council sent an Agent to Delhi, to claim the protection of the Mogul, against any violence which the Dutch might attempt on the English factory and trade; and to explain how much the Imperial revenues would decrease, if any attack should be made on the English factory, or any obstruction given to their trade. This measure, however, did not answer the expectations of the Presidency, for the Mogul refused to interfere in the quarrels, or wars, between the Europeans trading in his dominions; and, therefore, they informed the Court, that the trade at Surat was, in a great degree, suspended, and the coasting trade entirely at a stand, from the great number of Dutch cruisers which were hovering off the port.

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Trade at Surat suspended, on the appearance of a Dutch fleet off Swally.

Soon after the declaration of war by the Dutch, a fleet of eight of their large ships appeared off Swally; but not choosing to make an attack on the English factory or shipping in the river, which would have been held as an aggression by the Mogul government, they set sail for the Persian Gulf.

Though the caution of the Dutch deterred them from employing force against the English factory at Surat, it did not prevent their sending Agents, to offer large bribes to the Governors of Surat and Ahmedabad, to induce them to obstruct the English factors, in purchasing cloths, and other articles, for the investment. At Ahmedabad, they completely succeeded; for the Governor detained all the Company's saltpetre, which had been collected for the shipping of the ensuing season.

These

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1653-54.

These events materially affected, both the stock of money, and goods, which were at the disposal of the Presidency of Surat, and obliged them to keep in store the investment which they had provided for this season. This distress was also heightened, by the impracticability of trade between Surat and PERSIA, in which goods, estimated at £50,000, were detained, it being unsafe to ship them, on account of the large Dutch fleet which had complete possession of the seas, and commanded equally the Malabar Coast, and the Persian Gulf.(1)

Four of the Company's ships captured by the Dutch in the Gulf of Persia.

The fleet which had appeared off Surat, soon after the declaration of war by the Dutch against England, and which had sailed for the Persian Gulf, captured the Company's ships Roebuck and Lanneret, off Jasques; and soon afterwards the Blessing, and drove the Supply on shore, where she was totally lost. Severe as these losses were, the Agent and Council at Gombroon considered them of less moment, than the effect which this event would have in Persia, on the English character, hitherto held by that people as eminently distinguished for bravery; a quality which had contributed, more than any other, to obtain for them the Phirmaunds and grants, which have been enumerated.

Company's property removed from Bussorah to Gombroon.

In this critical situation, recourse was had to negotiation, through the Shahbunder, which happily was seconded, by intelligence arriving of the victory which the English fleet had obtained

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 26th November 1653, and 18th January 1654-54.

obtained, over that of Holland, off Portland:—this had raised the hopes of the Agents, who wrote to the Court, that they trusted the oppressions which they had, for so many years, endurred from the Dutch, would be removed, and that this people would be made "to pay severely for the bloodie Amboyna businesse," which, in fact, they said, had been the real cause that had raised the Dutch power in India, to its present height. CHAP. I. 1653-54.

Every measure of precaution was taken, under such perilous circumstances, to preserve the Company's property and rights. Orders had been sent to the Agent at Bussorah, to bring away the stock and goods from that factory, it being apprehended, the Dutch would make an attack on it. At Gombroon, presents had been made to the new Shahbunder, to induce him to make payment of the Company's moiety of customs, of which seven hundred and twenty Tomands had been recovered; but the Agents were in want of articles, for presents to the King, and nobles, without which nothing could be done. This report on the general state of the Company's trade in Persia, concluded, by recommending to the Court of Directors, rather to purchase silk, with ready money, by fair competition, than to persevere in the practice of making contracts with the King and his nobles, which had, hitherto, been attended only with trouble and great expence.(1)

 The

(1)—Letters from Gombroon, 4th April and 6th May 1653, and Letters from Ispahan, 8th August 1653.

CHAP. I.
1653-54.

Fort St. George made a Presidency.

The Agent and Council at FORT ST. GEORGE were, in this year, (1653-54) raised to the rank of a Presidency, a measure calculated to enable them to act with greater effect, in enlarging the Coromandel trade.

Inland trade on the Coast of Coromandel impracticable, from the convulsed state of the country, and coasting trade hazardous, from the superior force of the Dutch.

This Presidency represented to the Court, that satisfied of the danger of sending cargoes from Madras, to Goa and to Surat, by sea, they would willingly have complied with their orders, and have sent them over land to those ports; but the charges were so great, and the risks in the transit so many, from the inland troubles in the country, that this plan was impracticable; and, therefore, they had, under such an emergency, laden Coast goods in a country vessel, and sent her round to Goa, as the least hazardous expedient which they could devise.

Fort St. George the only security to the English trade on the Coromandel Coast.

The orders of the Court, to abridge the charges of Fort St. George, had been complied with, as far as was consistent with security: but it would be unsafe to reduce the garrison below its present standard; though, to meet the wishes of the Court for lessening expences, they had dissolved the factory at Pettipolee, and reduced the number of their servants at Verasheroon. The investment provided, for this year, was large, as well that proportion of it intended for Bantam, as that proposed to be sent to Europe. The money expended in purchasing goods had exhausted the stock to such a degree, as to leave only a sum, scarcely sufficient to defray the expences of the garrison: but the force of the Dutch was so considerable on the Coast, that they were doubtful of the expediency of putting

CHAP. I. 1653-54.

putting the goods on board the Company's ships, when they arrived; more particularly as the Dutch had taken the Dove, a large ship laden with cloves and finer spices, at Bantam, before that Presidency had received intelligence of the war with Holland. A new difficulty, also, had arisen, from an offer which the Danes had made to deliver up the fort at Tranquebar to the Dutch, on condition of paying their debts; and this would put another strong fortification on the Coast, into the hands of the enemy, and add to their power, as well as to their influence, over the Coromandel trade.

The connexion between Madras and Bengal kept open.

The connexion between the trade of Madras and BENGAL had been preserved, though the sums which the factors in the latter country had paid, to be exempted from duties and customs, it was conceived, would counterbalance the profits from this trade, and rather be a benefit to the private trade of the Company's servants, than to their investments. (1)

Trade at Bantam nearly suspended, on account of the war with the Dutch.

The irregularity of the communications between the Presidency at BANTAM and the Court is accounted for, by the more exposed situation of the trade and shipping at that port, and from its nearer vicinity to the seat of the Dutch Government at Batavia. As no intelligence had arrived, of the circumstances under which the Company's factory and trade at Bantam had acted, since the season 1650-51, when they carried the balance of

(1)—Letters from Fort St. George to the Court, 11th November 1653, and 12th January 1653-54.—— Letter from Bantam to Fort St. George, 15th July 1653.—— Letter from Surat to the Court, 18th January 1653-54.

CHAP. I.
1653-54.

of the Second General Voyage, to the credit of the Fourth Joint Stock, and drew bills on England, for the amount, at five shillings and six-pence per rial of eight, we now discover, that during this interval, or up to the year 1653-54, they had struggled to preserve their proportion of the trade, till the Dutch proclaimed war against England. This event checked them, in the project of opening a trade with Cambodia, and had, indeed, so intimidated them from continuing the coasting trade, from port to port, to obtain pepper or the finer spices, for the Indian or Europe markets, that the trade at Bantam, at this crisis, was, in fact, at a stand.[1]

(1)—Letters from the Presidency of Bantam to Fort St. George, 15th July 1653, and to the Court, 10th December 1653, and 10th January 1653-54

1654-55.

CHAP. I. 1654-55. The Parliament summoned by Cromwell, beginning to question his authority, dissolved.

Though the Protectorship of Cromwell had been established in 1653-54, and though the war with the Dutch had engrossed the public attention, and negotiations for peace had been in progress, yet the treaty of Westminster was not ratified by the Protector, till the 5th April 1654; references, therefore, to the actual state of the Government of England, must be continued, that, from them, we may trace the source of the proceedings of the London East-India Company. In this season, it will be sufficient to mention, that the peace had been scarcely concluded with a foreign nation and a commercial rival, when the secret causes, which had induced the Usurper to call off the attention of the force, by which had raised hi m self to power, began again to influence his conduct. By the *Act of Government*, under which he had been elevated to the Protectorate, Cromwell solemnly agreed to make frequent appeals to a Parliament : this condition obliged him, on the 3d September 1654, to summon an assembly, under this name, which, notwithstanding his intrigues to constitute it of members who might be submissive to his will, entered into discussions on the foundations of his authority, resembling those which had overset the monarchy :—taught, therefore, by experience, the consequences of indefinite political speculations which might lead to questions,

CHAP. I. 1654-55. questions, as dangerous to his assumed power, as they had been to the recognized rights of the Sovereign, Cromwell found it necessary, on the 22d January 1654-55, to dissolve this assembly.

Company petition Cromwell, that Bassein and Bombay might be ceded to them.

While the treaty with the Dutch was pending, the East-India Company, presuming that their rights and privileges would become the subjects of one or more articles in it, addressed the Protector, in the hope that he would support the establishment which they had, for so many years, maintained; and, therefore, submitted to his consideration, as he was endeavouring to settle the national trade to India, that the town of Bassein, and port of Bombay, on the Coast of India, and the town and castle of Mosambique, on the Coast of Africa, would be the most convenient stations for the trade and factories of the East-India Company. (1)

Treaty at Westminster, between England and Holland.

It will be recollected, that, before the commencement of the civil wars, and indeed, ever since the event of the massacre at Amboyna, petitions had been almost annually presented by the London East-India Company to the Crown, praying for the redress of the grievances which they experienced from the Dutch in the East-Indies. After the Monarchy was overset, and while the Commonwealth was absorbing itself into a Protectorate, the Company, looking up to the existing power, repeated their applications of the same description, and, in the preceding year, projected a subscription, to defray the charges

(1)—Address of the East-India Company to the Protector, relative to the settlement of the trade in India, 1654. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 197).

charges of a naval force, to be employed in the East-Indies, to retaliate on the Dutch, the injuries which the Company had suffered; and it will also be remembered, that among the other causes of the war, the refusal of the Dutch to grant redress for these grievances, had been appealed to, by Cromwell, to conciliate the public to the measure:—the petitions and complaints of the Company had been favorably received by the Protector and Council of State, and therefore, when the treaty was concluded, on the 5th April 1654, articles were introduced, expressly to redress the grievances of the English in the East-Indies, and to ascertain the respective rights of the English and Dutch East-India Companies.

Articles in this treaty ascertaining the Company's rights and compensation for their losses.

By the 27th article, it was agreed, "That the Lords, the "States General of the United Provinces, shall take care, that "justice be done upon those who were partakers or accomplices "in the massacre of the English, at Amboyna, as the Republic "of England is pleased to term that fact, provided any of them "be living."

By the 30th article, it was agreed, "That four Commissioners shall be named, on both sides, at the time of exchanging the ratifications, to meet here at London, on the "18th of May next, according to the English style, who, at the "same time, shall be instructed and authorised, as they are "instructed and authorised by these presents, to examine and "distinguish all those losses and injurys, in the year 1611, and "after, to the 18th of May 1652, according to the English

 "style

CHAP. I. 1654-55. " style, as well in the East-Indies, as in Greenland, Muscovy, " Brazil, or wherever else either party complains of having " suffered them, from the other: and the particulars of " all those injurys and damages shall be exhibited to the " said Commissioners so nominated, before the aforesaid " 18th of May, with this restriction, that no new ones " shall be admitted after that day. And if the said Com- " missioners do not agree about adjusting the said differences, " so particularly exhibited and expressed in writing, within the " space of three months, to be computed from the said 18th of " May, in such case the said differences shall be submitted, as " they are by these presents submitted, to the judgment and " arbitration of the Protestant Swiss Cantons, who shall be " required, by the instrument already agreed on, to assume that " arbitration, in such case; and to delegate Commissioners of " like nature, for the same purpose, so instructed, that they " shall give judgment, within six months next following the " expiration of those three months; and whatsoever such " Commissioners, or the major part, shall determine, within " the six months, shall bind both parties, and be well and truly " performed." (1)

Proceedings of the Commissioners under this Treaty, to ascertain the claims of the London and

That this treaty, and its consequences, as far as regarded the London East-India Company, may be connected, as a public transaction, with the measures of the Court of Directors in this season, it may be proper to subjoin the proceedings

(1)—Original Treaty of Peace, between England and Holland, dated at Westminster, 5th April 1654, preserved in the State Paper Office, Whitehall.

ings of the Commissioners constituted under the thirtieth article of it. Eight Commissioners, four Dutch and four English, met in London, on the 30th August 1654, to decide on the respective claims of the English and Dutch Companies, for compensation for the damages, which each asserted they had sustained :—the English Company stated the amount of their damages, as established by a series of accounts, from the year 1611 to the year 1652, at £2,695,999. 15*s.*: to counterbalance this statement, the Dutch brought forward accounts, in which they estimated their damages, at an amount still greater, or £2,919,861. 3*s.* 6*d.* After long deliberation, the Commissioners pronounced their award; in substance, that there should be an oblivion, by both parties, of past injuries and losses ;—that the Island of Polaroon should be restored to the English ;—that the Dutch Company should pay to the London Company the sum of £85,000, by two instalments;—and farther, that the sum of £3,615 should be paid to the heirs, or executors, of the sufferers at Amboyna, in 1622-23. These sums were paid by the Dutch East-India Company, conformably to this award. (1)

Dutch East-India Companies.

Their award.

Though the oppressions of the London Company by the Dutch, in the East-Indies, during the last years of the late reign, and while the government which succeeded it, was assuming successive aspects, precluded the introduction of questions by the separate traders, leading to discussions which might

The Adventurers in the United Joint Stock, joined with the Assada Merchants, petition the Council of State, that the trade to the East-

(1)—Award of the English and Dutch Commissioners for regulating the East-India Trade, dated at London, August 1654. (Printed in the Collection of Treaties, published in 1732, vol. iii. page 49).—— Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii, page 592.

CHAP. I. 1654-55. Indies should be carried on by an open Company, each member having liberty to employ his own stock and shipping.

might have affected the Charter or privileges of the Company, the preceding award, which finally settled the opposition, between a foreign rival and the London Company, was no sooner pronounced, than a new opposition arose, calculated, from the general impression of extending the trade of the realm, to attract the notice of the Protector, and of the Council of State.

This opposition did not arise from either disconnected Private Traders, or lesser Associations of them; but from that class of Adventurers of the United Joint Stock, which had formerly been parties in the Union between the East-India Company and the Assada Merchants, in 1649, who, by petitions to the Council of State, dated the 21st September and 14th November 1654, prayed, that the East-India trade might, in future, be carried on by a Company, but with liberty for the members of such Company, individually, to employ their own stocks, servants, and shipping, in such way, as they might conceive most to their own advantage.

Answer of the East-India Company to this petition.

The East-India Company were necessarily alarmed at an application which, they foresaw, must bring their Charter and privileges into discussion, by the Council of State, and, therefore, presented a petition to the Protector, stating, that as the time of their present Joint Stock was nearly expired, it had been found expedient to call a general meeting of the Proprietors (who signed the petition) who gave it as their unanimous opinion, founded on the experience of forty years, and on the reasons which had been offered to the late Parliament, *viz.* the competitions,

petitions with the Portuguese and Dutch ;—the experience of the failure of distinct voyages, which had proved the necessity of a Joint Stock ;—the expences of the equipment, which Courten's experiment had shewn could only be supported by a Joint Stock ;—the Company's factories being situated in the dominions of not less than fourteen different sovereigns ;—and, above all, the engagements which the Company were under to the native powers, to make good any losses which their subjects might sustain, from the depredations of Englishmen, not under the control of the Company, that the only method of carrying on the trade, for the benefit and honor of the country, would be, by a *Joint Stock:* and, therefore, prayed the Protector, that, as they had been discouraged from entering into a Subscription, sufficiently large to accomplish so desirable an object, for want of His Highness's support, he would be pleased to renew their Charter, with such additional privileges as had been found necessary, to enable them to carry on the trade ; that private persons should be prohibited from sending out shipping to India ; and that they might be assisted in recovering and resettling the Spice Islands ; when, they did not doubt, they should be able, not only to procure a large Subscription at present, but establish the East-India trade on a permanent and secure basis, for the future.

Reply of the Merchant Adventurers to the Company's answer.

In reply to this petition, the Merchant Adventurers to the East-Indies stated, that the East-India trade, as managed, for forty years, by Joint Stocks, had not been so profitable to the subscribers or the country, as separate voyages would have been, and

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and adduced, as examples, the manner in which the Turkey, Muscovy, and Eastland trades were carried on, under free Companies, and that all the rights and privileges of the Company, in India, had been purchased by the New Adventurers, as appeared by the articles of agreement dated the 21st November 1649, between Mr. Cockayne and Mr. Methwold, on the part of the then United Joint Stock and Company, and Mr. Maurice Thomson and Mr. Moyer, on behalf of the New Adventurers, who, in consequence, became possessed of an equal right to the trade of India, as the Company, and were now fitting out fourteen ships for that trade.

The Petitions and replies referred to a Select Committee of the Council of State, who remitted the subject to the consideration of the whole Council of State.

The Council of State, by an order of the 2d November 1654, referred these different claims to a Committee, who reported, that they had attentively considered the petitions and allegations of both parties, and found that the trade to the East-Indies was of much consequence to the country; that every thing depended on the proper management thereof; and that the reasons alleged by each party were so strong, that they deserved the most serious consideration; that the Committee did not think fit to offer their decided opinion, on a subject of so much importance, and, therefore, remitted the whole matter to the consideration of the Council of State, for their judgment and decision. (1)

The

(1)—Original Representation by the Adventurers in the East-India Trade to the Council of State, 21st September 1654.—— Petition of the East-India Adventurers to the Council of State, 14th November 1654.—— Original Petitions of the Governor and principal East-India Proprietors, on behalf of the East-India Company, to the Council of State, November 1654.—— Answer of the East-India Adventurers to the Petition of the East-

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The Company send orders to all their foreign Settlements to reduce their establishments.

The apprehensions of the Company, that the issue of their applications to the Protector and to the Council of State would be ineffectual, may be judged of, from the terms of their instructions to their foreign Presidencies and Factories, to reduce the charges to the lowest scale, and rather to wind up, than to extend, their concerns :—in particular, they ordered the President and Council at Fort St. George to reduce their civil establishment to two factors, and the garrison, to a guard of ten soldiers only; and the factory at Masulipatam to have one factor only; and so strong was the impression of the Company, of the urgency of such reductions, that they dispatched a vessel on purpose, on which were embarked two Commissioners, with authority to carry these orders into immediate execution. (1)

The Merchant Adventurers fit out ships for India, and petition the Council of State for liberty to export foreign bullion.

The expectations of the Merchant Adventurers, on the contrary, were so general, that the Protector and Council of State would enter into their views, that they presented a petition, stating that the time for the United Stock being expired, the East-India trade would be lost to the nation; to prevent which, they had fitted out several ships, with cargoes of the manufactures and produce of the country, but had experienced much difficulty in procuring foreign bullion; and, therefore, prayed, they might be allowed to export what they had already collected, free of

East-India Company, 5th December 1654.—— Report of the Committee of the Council of State, to whom the Petitions of the East-India Company and the Adventurers were referred, 10th January 1654-55. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, Nos. 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194.)

(1)—Letter from the Court to the President and Council at Fort St. George, 31st January 1654. (vol. iii, No. 245).

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of customs, and that the same liberties and privileges might be allowed to them, as had, in times past, been granted to others.(1)

Expedients used by the Presidency of Surat to obtain small investments, and preserve the Company's rights.

The Company's Presidencies and Factories, from their great distance from England, were unprepared for the changes which had taken place, either by the Treaty of Westminster, with the Dutch, or by the rise of the Merchant Adventurers, soliciting an alteration in the East-India trade; or what was equivalent, the substitution of themselves, as a new species of India Company, originating in a sort of purchase of the factories and stations of the London Company, in 1649.

In this season, it is an interesting branch of the Annals of the London Company, to trace the proceedings of the different Presidencies and Factories abroad, at a time when, at best, they had to act on the defensive, against the Dutch, and to preserve the Company's settlements from being seized on, by the native powers; and, at the same time, to struggle against the dregs of Courten's Interlopers, reduced, indeed, in credit, but from that cause, under stronger temptations to commit depredations on the country shipping, and again expose the Company's property and servants to seizure and imprisonment.

Though

(1)—Petition of the Adventurers, or East-India Merchants, to the Protector and Council of State, for liberty to export foreign Bullion, Custom free, February 1654-55. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 196).

Though the Presidency of SURAT had been refused the protection of the Mogul, against any violence of the Dutch, they continued, in the year 1654-55, again to solicit it, on the principle, that, by marking their reliance on the government, they would induce this Sovereign to allow the privileges granted by himself, and his ancestors, to remain undisturbed ; and reported, that they had purchased an investment of indigo at Agra, and obtained a proportion of saltpetre, both from this Agency and from the Decan, but had gone no farther in their purchases, than what the sale of the broad-cloths would pay ;—that they would withdraw those stations, as soon as they could do so with safety to the Company's general privileges ;— that they had dissolved the factory at Scindy, and, by the vessel which had brought off the factors, had unexpectedly received a quantity of cloves, which would go into the Europe investment ;—that they would make every exertion to support the Factory at Gombroon, to keep up the Company's claim to the moiety of the customs, and preserve the stores at that place ; but that, in this year, they had experienced a new danger, from the licentious character of the crews of their own ships, among whom it had been difficult to preserve subordination, and from whom the risk of the ship and cargo was almost as great, as from the enemy.

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At the close of this season, the intelligence of peace with the Dutch reached India, and it was hoped by the Presidency of Surat, that this information would stop the hostilities of their opponent ; but as they were ignorant of the conditions, and much more so, of the reparation expected for injuries, they

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would follow the orders of the Court, to promote the sales of goods in store, and limit their investments to their actual means, till they should learn the real situation of the Company's privileges in England. (1)

The Persian trade suspended, from the navigation between Gombroon and Surat being impeded by the Dutch.

The superiority of the Dutch, in shipping and in funds, which, in 1653-54, had thrown the greatest part of the trade of PERSIA in their favor, continued, in 1654-55, to give them a decided preponderance. As yet, the English Agents were unacquainted with the treaty of peace, between England and Holland, and of the award of the Commissioners, for a compensation to the London Company for the injuries which, for so many years, they had suffered from the Dutch; they were also cut off from communications, by sea, with the Presidency of Surat, and, like it, compelled to keep the Persian produce, which they had provided for the investment, in store; afraid, if they should venture to send it by the Company's ships, (of which four had been taken or lost in the preceding season), or by country ships, that they might be captured by the enemy: the trade at Gombroon, therefore, was at a stand, and the sales, either of Indian or Europe produce, had become unproductive. At Ispahan, though the Agents had the command of considerable funds, the revolutions in the government had rendered applications to the King, or nobles, unavailing;—hence, with the Dutch fleet, on the one hand, shutting up the navigation of the Gulf, and the convulsions in the country, on

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, dated 12th May, and 13th November 1654, and 15th March 1654-55.

on the other, obstructing equally the sales of Europe goods and the purchases of Persian produce, trade was so much at a stand, that the Agents were almost reduced to the necessity of sending the silks which they had purchased, to Aleppo, and thence, by the Mediterranean, to England. (1)

The trade at Fort St. George at a stand, from the inland wars, and the superior force of the Dutch.

The embarrassments at FORT ST. GEORGE, from the predominant naval power of the Dutch, not only on the Coromandel Coast, but in the seas between Madras and Bantam, and in those between Madras and Bengal, had continued, which left it only in the power of the Presidency of Fort St. George to effect very limited sales of Europe produce. The armies of the Kings of Golcondah and Visiapore were in the field, and laying waste the Carnatic, which had obstructed the purchase of Coast goods.

The Nabob, also, had thrown off his allegiance on the King of Golcondah, and involved the provinces, in the vicinity of the Fort, in all the calamities of a civil war. The commercial relations between Madras and Bantam had been obstructed by the superior naval force of the Dutch, to remedy which, it would be necessary to send stout armed vessels from England, able to keep open this navigation, and suitable presents to the King of Bantam, and to the chiefs in the countries in which subordinate factories had been fixed; for, however inconsiderable those presents might appear, experience had proved the importance of annually making them:—the telescope which the Company had

 sent

(1)—General Letters from the Agent at Gombroon to the Court, 9th April 1654, and from the Agent at Ispahan, 8th September 1654.

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sent to the King of Maccassar, and the fire-arms to the King of Bantam, had conciliated their favor, and with respect to these markets, English cloths, of a fine kind and bright colours, must be sent, to counteract the influence which the value and richness of the Dutch cargoes had created. (1)

Measures for reviving the trade at Bantam.

The embarrassments under which the President and Council of BANTAM had been placed by the Dutch fleet, were not removed, even after they received intelligence of peace having been concluded in Europe, between England and the States General. While the war subsisted, the exchanges, between the Coromandel Coast and Bantam, were interrupted; and therefore the reciprocal support from the profits of those exchanges cut off: as soon, however, as the intelligence of the peace was received, the Presidency at Bantam purchased a junk, which they sent to Maccassar, loaded with Surat and Coast cloths, to be exchanged for cloves, mace, and pepper, to be in readiness for the Europe investment; but the civil wars, between the chiefs in the countries producing either the finer spices or pepper, had, in a great degree, obstructed exchanges and purchases, and rendered the investments for Europe less than intended: the great mortality, besides, among the Company's servants at Bantam, added to those difficulties, from not having factors qualified to take charge of their distant and unconnected intercourse with the native merchants. (2)

(1)—Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. George to the Court, 18th September 1654.

(2)—Letter from the President and Council of Bantam to the Court, 9th December 1654.

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THIS year furnishes a memorable example of the situation of a country, in which the regular government had been subverted by factions, pretending to give greater liberty and happiness to a people; and of the success of these factions, reducing them to be the passive instruments of one ambitious chief:—this year also furnishes a not less memorable example of the precarious tenure by which such power is held; for Cromwell was obliged to find out a foreign enemy, against whom he might direct the public force, that its attention might be diverted, both from the sources, and from the exercise of his authority.

CHAP. I. 1655-56. Political situation of England.

The war with the Dutch terminated by the Treaty of Westminster, in 1654, and, in this year, Cromwell declared war against Spain. He divided the English naval force into two great squadrons, one of which, under Admiral Blake, proceeded to the Mediterranean, and the other to the West-Indies, under Admiral Penn, who captured Jamaica. The irregular war with France was also terminated by a treaty, in October 1655, by which, and by the peace with the Dutch, the services of the English fleet were no longer required, either in the Channel, or in the North Sea, and therefore ready to be employed against an enemy, from whom more brilliant conquests might

Treaty with France, and probability of war with Spain.

CHAP. I. 1655-56. might engage the public attention, and greater resources be found for the government.

Though these expectations were fulfilled, they could not prevent domestic conspiracies in a nation, which, though for a time deluded, was disposed to return to its ancient government-vernment and laws :—these conspiracies, however, enabled Cromwell to perfect the military system which succeeded the anarchy; for, at the close of this year, he divided the kingdom into eleven military districts, each commanded by a Major General, from whom there lay no appeal, except to the Protector himself.

The Council of State postpone their decision on the petitions of the Company and the Merchant Adventurers.

Under such a government, the London East-India Company had to struggle for their Charter and privileges, against the Merchant Adventurers, whom, in the preceding season, we left offering applications to the Protector, who referred the business to a Committee of the Council of State, by whom it was returned to the whole Council, as a subject of such national importance, as to be fitted only for their decision, and that of the Protector.

The Council of State kept the subject before them, during the whole of this year, without coming to a positive decision, either to divest the London Company of their privileges of trade, or to constitute the Merchant Adventurers a free Company, on their claim of having purchased the factories of the London Company, in 1649, or their less defined pretensions, of being able to extend the commerce of England to the East-Indies, more profitably by separate voyages, than by Joint Stocks.

The

The Council of State, independently of the magnitude of the subject at issue between these two parties, were necessarily led to postpone their decision, by the Proprietors of the several stocks of the London East-India Company presenting different petitions, stating their separate rights, not only to the Island of Polaroon, which, it had been agreed, was to be restored to the English, but to the £85,000, which the Dutch were to pay as a compensation for injuries.

The Proprietors of the Third and Fourth Joint Stocks, and of the United Stock, petition the Protector and the Council of State, each claiming the exclusive right to the Island of Polaroon, and to the £85,000 obtained from the Dutch.

The surviving Proprietors, and the heirs of the deceased Proprietors of the *Third Joint Stock* of the London East-India Company, presented a petition, in May 1655, to the Protector, stating, that the Dutch having agreed, by treaty, to restore the Island of Polaroon, and to pay £85,000 for damages sustained by the English in the Indies, and that the Adventurers in the *United Stock* and the *Fourth Joint Stock* of the East-India Company claimed the right to the Island of Polaroon, and to one-third part of the money, the whole of which, and the right to the Island, they conceived to be the exclusive property of the *Third Joint Stock*, they prayed His Highness that the £85,000 should be placed in safe and responsible hands, till the decision of the respective claims thereon should be pronounced, and that, in the meantime, it might be declared by His Highness, to whom the said Island should belong.

The petition referred by the Council of State to Arbitrators, and the money vested in Trustees,

This petition was referred by Cromwell, on the 23d May 1655, to the consideration of a Committee of the Council of State, who, on the same day, reported as their opinion, that all the matters in dispute, between the Proprietors of the several

Stocks

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till a decision of the respective claims should be pronounced.

Stocks of the East-India Company, should be submitted to the arbitration of Dr. Walker, Dr. Turner, Dr. Exton, Alderman Thomson, and Mr. Kendal; and that the £85,000, paid by the Dutch, should, in the meantime, be deposited in the hands of Sir Thomas Vyner and Alderman Riccard.(1)

The Protector proposes to the Company to borrow the £85,000, who agree to lend him £50,000.

In consequence of the report of this Committee, the £85,000 was deposited in the hands of Sir Thomas Vyner and Alderman Riccard; but Cromwell, having occasion for money, from the exigencies of the State, made an application to the East-India Company to borrow the whole sum; which proves, that he, at this time, acknowledged the East-India Company, in their corporate capacity, and with their privileges of trade, though he was giving encouragement to the Merchant Adventurers, in their projects. The East-India Company, in their answer to this proposal, stated, that their losses from the Dutch far exceeded, in amount, the sum which had been allowed as a compensation; that the Stocks, among which this £85,000 was to be distributed, were above £50,000 in debt, and that many of the Proprietors were in distressed circumstances; but that the Company, willing to testify their gratitude to Cromwell for his protection, consented to lend him £50,000 of this sum, on having an agreement, under the Great Seal, that it should be repaid in eighteen months, by equal instalments; and requested that

(1)—Original Petition of the Proprietors of the Third Joint Stock of the East-India Company to the Protector, and original reference of the same (signed by Secretary Thurloe), dated 23d May 1655, to a Committee of the Council of State, and Report (copy) of that Committee thereon, dated the same day. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 198.

that the remaining £35,000 might be directly assigned to the East-India Company, to enable them to defray their most pressing debts, and to make a dividend among the Proprietors. (1)

Company order their foreign Settlements to call in all debts, and vest the amount in fine goods and saltpetre.

Such were the public transactions of the London East-India Company, with Cromwell and the Council of State; and we have to connect them with the measures which they adopted, still acting as a Company, under their Charter and privileges, and prepared either to maintain their rights, or to wind up their affairs, should they be overpowered, by a preference being given to the Merchant Adventurers.

In the letters of the Court to the Presidents and Councils of Surat and Fort St. George, they desired to be furnished with such goods, of the finest kind, as could most readily be disposed of in the home market, and a large proportion of saltpetre, from both stations, that they might be enabled to meet the probable demands of the State, for that necessary article; but, at the same time, instructed them to call in their debts, and realize their funds, and send them home, in investments of the preceding description, that their business might be wound up, and those funds be divided among the Proprietors of the Stocks; whatever might be the event of their own, or the application of their opponents, to the Council of State, respecting East-India Affairs. (2)

(1)—Answer of the East-India Company to the proposal of the Protector, to borrow the £85,000, in the hands of Sir Thomas Vyner and Alderman Riccard, 19th July 1655. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 200.)

(2)—Letters of the Court to the Presidencies of Surat and Fort St. George, 24th August 1655.

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Such was the alarm of the Court, at this juncture, that they subsequently dispatched a vessel to Fort St. George, with a stock of £5,000, to be invested in the finest cloths, to encrease their funds for the Proprietors; and ordered a pinnace to be sent from Fort St. George to Bengal, with directions to sell off all the Europe goods at that station, and to vest the produce in Bengal goods, of the finest quality, to complete the investment from Fort St. George. (1)

General account of the debts and credits of the United Joint Stock, on the 1st September 1655.

That the Court might put the Proprietors in possession of the actual state of their affairs, a general account of the debts, credits, and balances of the *United Joint Stock*, was made up to the 1st of September 1655, of which the following is a copy :—

(1)—Letter from the Court to the President and Council of Fort St. George, 24th September 1655.

ACCOUNT GENERAL OF THE UNITED JOINT STOCK,

On the 1st September 1655.

DEBIT.

	£.	s.	d.
Salaries of the merchants remaining in India, from the 30th November 1650, to the 30th November 1656, at £2,066. 2s. 8d. per annum, to be paid in India	9,641	19	4
Mariners' wages, for the like terms, per estimate	4,000	0	0
Two years' generall expences in Suratt, from 30th November 1654, to November 1656	7,600	0	0
—— Coast of Coromandell	5,000	0	0
—— Bantam, &c.	2,800	0	0
Salary of the merchants gone upon the Three Brothers	230	0	0
Gratuitys to the Committees, none having been paid since this Stock begun.	—	—	—
Rests	156,317	7	8
	£185,589	7	0

CREDIT.

	£.	s.	d.
Balance of estate in England, made up to the 1st September, 1655	82,053	12	2
Remaines in Suratt and subordinate factories	32,829	5	0
At Madraspatnam, and factories on that Coast	22,671	11	3
At Bantam and subordinates	26,451	10	7
Voyage to Pollaroone	1,051	8	0
Fort St. George value, with all privileges of saving of customs	6,000	0	0
Customs of Gombroon	9,000	0	0
Three houses in Agra, Ahmedavad, and Lucknow, with the garden at Suratt	1,932	0	0
Five houses at Bantam, Japarra, Macassar, Jambee, and Banjar-Masseen	3,600	0	0
Ship Expedition	500	0	0
—— Sea-horse	250	0	0
Sloop Maryne	200	0	0
Pynnace Hope	50	0	0
	£185,589	7	0

MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked Accounts, Nos. 62—21.

mission, and to have a proportion of the dividend, on his return.(1)

These mixed events produce an opinion in Holland, that the London East India Company had been dissolved.

When intelligence of these mixed aspects of Indian affairs in England reached Holland, it was concluded, that Cromwell had dissolved the London East-India Company, when, in fact, he had only invaded their privileges, by allowing the Merchant Adventurers to fit out ships, and to trade to the countries within their limits, without being liable to interruption, either by the Court of Directors at home, or opposition from the Presidencies abroad;—and this alarm in Holland became so general, that the Dutch concluded the exertions of Cromwell would be directed to subvert the power of their East-India Companies.(2)

The number of the Company's servants reduced at the foreign settlements, and the Court referred, for an account of their affairs in India, to the verbal information of their servants, who had returned to England,

The intelligence which the foreign Presidencies had received, this season, of the critical situation in which the privileges of the Company were placed, in England, not only from the award of the Commissioners having adjudged a sum, as compensation, inadequate to the losses which the Company had sustained, but from the pretensions of the Merchant Adventurers, leading to an infringement on their privileges, accompanied with general instructions from the Court, to reduce the number of their

(1)—Instructions from the Committee of Adventurers in the ships Hopeful, Benjamin, and William, for the voyage to Surat and Fort St. George, 13th November 1655. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, vol. xxvii). Commission and Instructions to Mr. Borneford and Captain Bayley, 25th March 1656.

(2)—Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii, page 80.

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their servants at their different Presidencies and Factories, to recover their debts by every possible means, and to vest the limited stock sent to them, in articles of a finer description, led them to conclude, that the Company considered their privileges to be in danger, and that nothing remained, under all circumstances, but to wind up their affairs, and give way to the wild speculations of the Merchant Adventurers, which the Protector was encouraging.

In compliance with the orders of the Court, the President and Council of SURAT stated, that the different establishments had been reduced in number, and the supernumeraries permitted to return in the ships of the season, to Europe; and to the most intelligent of those servants, they referred the Company for information of the actual state of their affairs, conceiving it more safe, that information should be derived from this channel, than to hazard reports in writing, which might fall into the hands of their opponents, and furnish them with materials favorable to their insidious projects.

This caution accounts for a deficiency of information, regarding the whole of the Company's settlements and factories in the East-Indies, during this season; a circumstance which is more remarkable, when it is contrasted, either with the full details in the former, or those which will appear in the subsequent years:—it can, therefore, only be collected from the letters of the President and Council of Surat to the Court, that the reduction of the factors, at that establishment, had obliged them to withdraw the Agency from Brodera;—that

they

they had procured some supplies of silk from Persia, and of cloths from Scindy;—that they had withdrawn the factory from Agra, but had collected as much Surat and Coast cloths, and indigo, as their means would afford; and, by sending a vessel to Mocha, obtained produce from that quarter, to make up the best possible investment for the Europe sales, that they might contrast, in the public opinion, the value of the imports of the Company with those of the Private Traders, with whose interferences in the Indian markets, this year, they had been severely pressed.(1)

If such was the situation of the Presidency of Surat, it is a fair inference, as the reduced servants of the Company, at the other settlements, were permitted to return to Europe, that the information they gave to the Court, must have been analogous, and equally discouraging in its substance.

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 20th October 1655, and 19th January 1655-56.

1656-57.

CHAP. I.
1656-57.
War with Spain, and alliance with France.

Though, at the close of the preceding season, the Government of Cromwell had assumed a military aspect, as best calculated to prevent conspiracies against his authority, even this strong measure, he found, could subsist for a short time only, unless sanctioned by a Parliament, the assembly, in which, on all occasions, the English nation had been habituated to place their confidence ;—in September 1656, therefore, he summoned a Parliament, but selected the members who composed it from his immediate adherents, and, in April 1657, this Assembly made him an offer of that Crown, of which the factions had deprived Charles I. It was, thus, proposed, that England, after it had gone through the temporary forms of a Commonwealth, and of a Protectorate, was to submit to an Usurper of the Crown; but the strong mind of Cromwell was satisfied, that the object of all his ambition would be dangerous in possession, from the general feelings of the English nation, which were now beginning to turn in favor of the exiled Monarch.

It became obvious, that war with a continental power could, alone, divert the attention of the English nation from examining the sources of Cromwell's authority, and, therefore, the better to ensure success in the war against Spain, he entered into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with France, on the 13th

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13th March 1656-57, at the time when Charles II. formed a treaty with Spain, which recognized his rights: by these transactions, Cromwell connected his own power with the apparent interest of the English nation, in the war; while Charles II. became, by treaty, connected with Spain, at this time at war with England.

We have, therefore, as in the preceding season, (considering the situation of the English Government, and the absolute power with which Cromwell was vested) to trace the measures of the London Company, for preserving their privileges, and also the expedients of the Adventurers, who had endeavoured to undermine them.

The Company and the Merchant Adventurers allowed to proceed with their respective equipments.

The London East-India Company, and the Merchant Adventurers, had submitted their respective claims to the Protector, and to the Council of State; but such was the difficulty of deciding on them, that the Company were allowed to proceed with their equipments, while the Adventurers obtained a commission, authorizing them to fit out ships, and appoint supercargoes to direct them, and to open a trade in the countries within the Company's limits. At the opening of the season, therefore, it was undecided, whether the East-India trade was to be conducted by a privileged Company, on a Joint Stock; or whether a new Company was to be established, the members of which, like those of the Levant or Muscovy Companies, were to be permitted to trade, each upon his own capital.

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The East-India Company proceeded with their equipments, and presented a petition, in their corporate capacity, to the Protector, for leave to export £15,000 in bullion, and dispatched three ships, under instructions to vest this amount in the finest kind of India goods, and, particularly, refined saltpetre.

Company petition the Protector for confirmation of their Charter by Act of Parliament.

In October, the Company presented a second petition to the Protector, stating that they had been at great expences, for many years, in purchasing privileges, and erecting factories, in various parts of the East-Indies;—that the time of the United Stock being expired, and many ships having been sent by individuals, under licences, the interferences of which had the effect to raise the price of Indian produce, from forty to fifty per cent., and to lower the price of English manufactures, in an equal proportion, they prayed, that the Protector would be pleased to renew their Charter, and that it might be confirmed by Act of Parliament, with such additional privileges as had been found necessary to carry on the trade.

This petition referred to the Council of State, by whom it is referred to a Select Committee.

This petition, by a reference, signed with the Protector's own hand, and dated the 20th October 1656, was submitted to the consideration of the Council of State. (1)

The Council of State, in obedience to the reference of the Protector, made an order, dated the 3d November 1656, referring the petition of the East-India Company to a Select Committee

(1)—Petition of the East-India Company to the Protector, for renewal of their Charter, and original Reference to the Council of State, dated 20th October 1656. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 207.)

mittee of their number, consisting of Colonel Jones, Lord Lisle, Lord Commissioner Fyennes, the Earl of Mulgrave, Sir Charles Wolseley, Lord Strickland, Colonel Sydenham, and the Lord Deputy of Ireland, who were directed to take the subject into their consideration, to peruse the Charters of the East-India Company, and to report their opinion to the Council, "in what manner the East-India trade might be best managed, "for the public good and its own encouragement;"—the particular care of this business was entrusted to Colonel Jones. (1)

That the applications of the Company might not meet with interruption, by separate petitions from the subscribers to the *Fourth Joint Stock* and the *United Joint Stock*, the Court of Directors held frequent meetings, for the purpose of adjusting the respective claims of these stock-holders, without, however, being able to come to any positive decision on the subject; but these meetings had the effect of preventing any applications being made to the Council of State, which might have retarded its decision on the East-India trade. (2)

Report of this Select Committee, again referring the subject to the whole Council of State.

The Committee of the Council of State, to whom the petition of the East-India Company was referred, reported, on the 18th December 1656, that they had carefully considered the petition of the East-India Company; and that they might have the fullest information on this important subject,

(1)—Original Order of the Council of State, on the Petition of the East-India Company, dated 3d November 1656, signed by Mr. Jessop, Clerk of the Council. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 208).

(2)—Minute of the Meeting of the Committees with the Fourth Joint Stock and United Joint Stock, 10th November 1656. (Vol. iii. No. 251).

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subject, had directed notices to be affixed on the Exchange, appointing a day for all persons concerned in the East-India trade to attend them; in consequence of which, several merchants attended, and a full hearing was given to the arguments of both parties; on the one side, for carrying on the trade, under an United Joint Stock, and, on the other, for a free trade, under a Company, on distinct capitals. The Committee, after examining the respective arguments, and perusing the written propositions of both parties, reported to the Council of State, that, though it was their private opinion, the trade ought to be conducted on an *United Joint Stock*, yet they considered the business of so much importance, that they would not come to any positive determination on the subject, but referred the whole case, with the papers, to the Council of State for their final decision. This report was signed by Colonel Sydenham, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Colonel Jones. (1)

Decision of the Council of State, that the East-India trade should be carried on by the Company, or a United Joint Stock.

The Council of State, on receiving this report of the Committee, to whom the petition of the East-India Company had been referred, appointed, on the 27th January 1656-57, the Governor and Committees of the East-India Company, and the principal Merchant Adventurers to the East-Indies, to attend them on the following day; when, after a full hearing of the claims of both parties, the Council gave it as their advice to the Protector, "that the trade of East-Indya be mannaged by a "United

(1)—Original Report of the Committee of the Council of State, on the Petition of the East-India Company, 18th December 1656. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 210).

CHAP. I. 1656-57. This decision confirmed by the Protector, who declared his intention to grant a new Charter to the East-India Company.

" United Joynt Stock, exclusive of all others ;" and, on the 10th February 1656-57, the Protector signified his approbation of the advice of the Council of State, relative to the East-India trade, and a Committee of the Council was appointed, to consider of the Charter to be granted to the East-India Company. (1)

In this situation of their affairs, the London East-India Company do not appear to have, this season, sent any particular instructions to their foreign Presidencies, both from the expectation of receiving their Charter, and from their having, in the preceding year, sent ships, with orders to vest the stock entrusted to each Presidency, in articles of the finest kind; and to recover, as far as might be practicable, the debts due to the Company, that their concern might be wound up, should their applications to the Protector and to the Council of State (the issue of which, at that time, was uncertain) be rejected; which orders it would have been hazardous, at this crisis, to alter.

Retrospect o the arguments of the Merchant Adventurers for an open trade to the East-Indies, as rejected by the Protector.

It will throw light on the important subject of the East-India trade, (examined and discussed at a period when the ruling power was rather disposed to question than to confirm ancient establishments,) to bring under notice the arguments which the Merchant Adventurers offered to the Protector, and to the Council of State, to induce them to substitute their project, in place of the privileges of the East-India Company ; and these arguments are the more memorable, as they disclose a speculative

(1)—Extracts from the Books of the Council of State, preserved in the State Paper Office, Whitehall, 27th January, and 5th, 6th, and 10th February 1656-57.

CHAP. I. 1656-57. tive system of East-India trade, differing, indeed, from that which the subordinate associations of Interlopers had hitherto acted on, but, from being more specious in theory, was more hazardous in practice: these arguments are memorable, also, from a more public reason, that they were rejected by Cromwell and the Council of State, who held it to be a more solid foundation, that the East-India trade should continue with the Company, on a Joint Stock, than that it should be a free regulated trade, where each merchant was to act on his own capital.

The petition of the Merchant Adventurers to the East-Indies proceeded upon the principle, that it would be better not to carry on the trade on a Joint Stock, as formerly, but by a more distinct and particular method, under regulations, like the Turkey Company;—and the reasons on which this opinion was founded, are stated in the following terms.

" 1st. A free trade, regulated, will encourage industry " and ingenuity, which hath latitude and scope to exercise " itself, whilst each person hath the ordering of his owne " affaires; whereas, on a joint stock, it is impossible for one to " improve either, only to stand idle, without an opportunity to " make use of his own talents."

" 2d. As a consequence of the former, a regulated trade " is the only way for propagating skilfull merchants, who being " left to the management of their particular concernments, " must needs augment their owne experience, and derive the " same to their sonnes and servants, w^ch cannot be done in a " joynt stock, that being understood but by a few persons, and

" those

" those also having other employments, and acting not " for themselves alone, want the care and circumspection w[ch] " their peculiar and single interest would excite them to; for, in " a joynt stock, noe man can make it his business to be an " East-India merchant."

" 3d. According to the number of experienced merchants " will be an increase of trade, and a proportionable increase of " custome, and of shipping and mariners: a thing of noe meane " concernment to the benefit, strength, and service of the nation, " and only to be expected from an inlarged regulated trade."

" 4th. The greater the number of traders is, and the " more generall their trading, the cheaper will forraine comodities " be afforded here, in England, for the publique advantage, " when so many severall persons have the disposall of them, " and not one joynt body, as in a joynt stock."

" 5th. A free regulated trade gives opportunity to persons " to adventure their estates, at any time, and in such maner as " themselves may find convenient, without such limitation or " restrictions as in joynt stocks is usuall, where any one, not " furnished with money at the Companies set time of subscrip- " tion, must needs be excluded for many yeares after, and so " made incapable of employing his stock: and, besides, a joynt " stock admits of nothing but ready money, whereas, in the way " of trade proposed, one may employ either goods or shipping " that he is master of."

" 6th. This regulated way of trade, we humbly conceive, " will give us some advantage above the Dutch, as going at

" less

CHAP. I. 1656-57.

"less charge, and having more opportunity to improve y^e in-"dustry of the managers in India, who being whetted on by "their own interest and the competition of others, will, in "reason, turn every stone for discovering of new trades, above "those who only mañage their principall's money in Holland, "the effects whereof themselves are already so sencible of, that "their *Actions* in Holland are fallen a third part." (1)

Instructions sent by these merchants to their commanders and factors in India, on this rejection.

The application of the Merchant Adventurers to the East-Indies, and the reasons which supported it, having been rejected by the Protector and Council of State, who had decided, that the trade to the East-Indies should be managed, in future, by an United Joint Stock, it is interesting to observe the instructions for the management of this trade, which the Committee of these Adventurers sent, in this season, to the commanders of the ships which had sailed last year, under the Protector's licence.

These instructions were drawn, partly with reference to the relations of England with foreign powers, at this period, and partly to the state of the markets in England. On the first subject, they informed them, that they had received information, previously to the treaty with France, of three or four French ships having been fitted out at Brest, intended to act against the English in the East-Indies;—they next stated, that war having been declared, between England and Spain, a more powerful armament was preparing at Dunkirk and Ostend (then

(1)—Petition of the Adventurers to India for a free regulated Trade, 17th November 1656. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 209).

(then Spanish ports), for the like purpose;—and, lastly, after CHAP. I.
Cromwell became the ally of France, and both were preparing 1656-57.
armies to attack the Spanish Netherlands, and, of course, Holland, that there was a probability of a war, between England and the States General, which would expose them to still greater hazards.

On the second subject, or the low state of the market, for Indian produce, in England, they informed them, that the number of disconnected Interlopers, or private merchants, had much increased; and that they had brought home great quantities of Indian commodities, of inferior quality, particularly cottons, drugs, and spices, which had overstocked the market: the supercargo, therefore, was instructed to be as cautious in the prices he gave for Indian produce, as in the assortments with which he was to complete the ships' lading for the homeward voyage; an instruction which affords evidence, that while the Merchant Adventurers were themselves ready to invade the privileges of the London East-India Company, they were, at the outset, satisfied, that private merchants, of another kind, had become dangerous competitors to themselves, in that very market, the trade of which they were endeavoring to engross.[1]

(1)—Letters from the Committee of the Adventurers to Mr. Borneford and Captain Bayley, 22d May, 20th October, and 24th December 1656, 18th March 1656-57, and 23d April 1657. (Vol. marked No. 27).

CHAP. I.
1656-57.

The Presidency of Surat suspend all trade, till the question of the Company's rights should be decided in England.

The information which the Court transmitted to their foreign Presidencies, in 1655-56, of the alarming situation of the Company in England, from the interferences of the Merchant Adventurers with their privileges, determined the President and Council of SURAT to reduce their factories and the number of their servants; in 1656-57, therefore, this President and Council resolved on a temporary suspension of their exertions, and referred the Court to their servants, who had been allowed to return to Europe, for a full report on their real distresses.

This suspension of the English trade enabled the Dutch to conquer Ceylon and blockade Goa.

The power of the Dutch had, at this time, also, increased, in proportion to the weakness of the Portuguese, and to that confusion which the supercargoes and commanders of the shipping of the Merchant Adventurers had occasioned, on their arrival in India. The Dutch had got possession of Ceylon, from which they had excluded the Portuguese, and were blockading the port of Goa: should this seat of the Portuguese power fall, it was expected the Dutch would next attack, and carry the little Island of Diu, which commanded the entrance into Swally River; acquisitions which would give them the complete command of the trade on the Malabar Coast, and enable them to impose duties on the English trade, which it could not bear:—if, therefore, the privileges of the Company should not, in a short time, be recovered in England, they submitted to the Court, the absolute necessity of winding up their affairs, and sending licences to their servants to return to Europe with the Company's property.

The

CHAP. I. 1656-57. Effect of the interferences of the Merchant Adventurers on the trade of Surat.:

The interferences of the supercargoes and shipping of the Merchant Adventurers were described to be calculated to add to the distresses which the circumstances of the European nations in the Indies had already produced, and had rendered the purchase of investments almost impracticable:—these private, but now authorized traders, had brought out large quantities of English goods, and sold them below prime cost, and with the money, with which they had been entrusted, had given high prices for such Indian articles as they had collected;—the consequence was, that the Company's servants had been rendered contemptible in the opinion of the natives, not only in the provinces, in which their Agents had been accustomed to purchase goods, but at Surat, and the other ports, to which the goods had been usually brought, to be shipped for Europe. From public motives, the Company's servants had reduced their salaries, and tried all manner of expedients to keep up the appearance of trade; but such expedients could be temporary only, and a feeble barrier against the encroachments of the Dutch, equally strong in shipping and in funds, who must, in a short time, engross the whole of the India trade, and render the relinquishment of it a matter of necessity to the English nation. In this situation, therefore, they resolved, that they would await information from England, respecting the fate of the Company's privileges; would continue to narrow their transactions (having left only one Agent at Scindy and another at Ahmedabad); and would keep themselves in a state of readiness (should the Dutch be allowed to

CHAP. I. 1656-57.

continue their progress of conquest without interruption), to wind up the trade, till they should learn whether the Protector would renew to the Company their exclusive privileges. (1)

—and in Persia.

The Company's trade in PERSIA, and their rights to the moiety of the customs at Gombroon, had been almost ruined, by the information which the commanders of the Merchant Adventurers' shipping had brought from England, and, with much assiduity, propagated in Persia, that the London Company had been dissolved, and the trade laid open to them, as free Merchants; the Persian Government, therefore, held, not only that the treaty, which Shah Abbas had entered into with the Company, on the capture of Ormus, was no longer binding, but had, in a measure, suspended all the subsequent grants, under which privileges of trade had been allowed them, in the Persian dominions:—the licences, thus, granted to the Private Adventurers, in England, brought into danger, not only the Company's rights in Persia, but the practicability of continuing the trade in that kingdom. (2)

The trade at Fort St. George depressed by the Merchant Adventurers, and by the first invasion of the Carnatic by Sevagee:

The general report, this season, from the President and Council of FORT ST. GEORGE, was, if possible, still more alarming, both from the wars which were continuing in the Carnatic, and from the effect, which the interferences of the supercargoes and shipping of the Merchant Adventurers had on the market.

The Nabob, who had revolted against the King of Golcondah, had been defeated, and it was uncertain whether he would

(1)—Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 28th January 1656-57.

(2)—Ibid.

would be able to recover his power: a more formidable enemy, the celebrated Sevagee, at this time appeared, who was founding a powerful state in the countries which he had conquered from the Kings of Visiapore and Golcondah;— the President and Council, therefore, represented, that independently of the interferences of the Merchant Adventurers, goods had become scarce in the provinces, and when purchased, the transit of them to Madras, most hazardous and uncertain; the Merchant Adventurers, besides, had sold their Europe imports at low rates, and bought Indian articles at advanced prices, which had rendered it impracticable to conform to the orders of the Court, to purchase an investment of the finest goods, that would yield a profit to the proprietors. The ships of the Adventurers had touched, and made purchases at the ports of Negapatnam, Porto Novo, and Tranquebar, and, by exorbitant prices, had drained the country of goods; which had reduced the Presidency to the necessity of purchasing such Coast cloths, and such proportions of pepper and spices, as could be collected at Bantam, to make up a small investment for Europe; they, however, would continue their efforts, in the hope that a Joint Stock would be restored, and the Company's privileges again confirmed, without promising that these efforts would either come up to the Company's expectations, or to their own wishes. Under these circumstances, they had withdrawn the factories from Bengal, which they regretted,

CHAP. I.
1656-57.

regretted, as it might not (should the Company's privileges be restored) be either easy or practicable to replace them.[1]

—and the trade at Bantam, by the Dutch, and by the desertion of several of the Company's servants.

If the power of the Dutch, on the West Coast of India, had threatened the ruin of the trade at Surat and in Persia, and if the convulsions in the Carnatic had, in like manner, obstructed the inland trade, so much connected with the Presidency of BANTAM, the evils arising from the power of the Dutch at this port, and the interferences of the Merchant Adventurers, assumed a still more serious aspect. Bantam was blockaded by the Dutch, the whole of this season, and, consequently, trade at a stand, which had obliged the Presidency to recall the Agent from Cambodia, where small quantities of the finer spices had hitherto been collected:—but the Adventurers had produced an evil, as yet unknown at the other Presidencies, or seducing, by large bribes, several of the Company's servants to desert their duty, and to assist them in their projects: by this evil, the Presidency, being without authority or powers to punish such conduct, or funds to carry on the trade, were almost reduced to despair; their commercial connexion with the Coast had been cut off, and their hopes of deriving assistance from Europe, diminishing every day. Under these distresses, however, they stated, that they would endeavour to hold out, and preserve their privileges, because,

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Fort St. George to the Court, 10th November 1656, and 28th January 1656-57.—— Letter from the Presidency of Fort St. George to the Presidency of Surat, 7th July 1656.

because, should the Company's affairs in Europe be restored, this station would again become valuable, in the exchanges required in the East-India trade (2) CHAP. I. 1656-57.

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Bantam to the Court, 17th July 1656, and 10th January and 9th March 1656-57

1657-58.

CHAP. I.
1657-58.
Unsettled state of England:—Parliament assembled and dissolved.

The alliance with France, and the war with Spain, in 1656-57, were expedients, to which the Usurper resorted, to draw off the attention of the nation from the source and from the exercise of his authority; these expedients, however, had not prevented conspiracies against his person, but led to a military system, and to the summoning a Parliament, which he hoped would induce the English nation, from its habitual confidence in such an assembly, to recognize and to confirm his power.

In 1657-58, Cromwell sent six thousand men to co-operate with the French army in Spanish Flanders; the French became masters of Mardyke, and, agreeably to the treaty, it was delivered to the English:—but this war, instead of increasing his popularity in England, contributed to depress it. In January 1657-58, he was again obliged to call a Parliament, and, that he might give to it an appearance more conformable to English opinions, respecting that assembly, he divided it into two Houses;—this plan also failed, as many of the excluded members of the House of Commons were re-admitted, and, on the question being agitated, to examine the validity of the *Act of Government*, by which Cromwell had been declared Protector, he found it necessary, to prevent the effect of such discussions, to dissolve this assembly.

It

CHAP. I. 1657-58.

Union between the Company and the Merchant Adventurers, and formation of a new Joint Stock.

It was obvious, from these circumstances, that to the Protector, alone, the London Company could make application to have their Charter renewed, on the basis of the resolutions of the Council of State, of the 27th January 1656-57; and that this Charter was granted in this season, will appear from the reference made to it, in the petition of the East-India Company to Cromwell, in the subsequent year, though no copy of it can be discovered, among the records of the State, or of the Company. Such, however, was the reliance which the Company placed upon this Charter, and the impression that, under it, they were restored to the full exercise of their rights, that a Coalition took place, between them and the principal members of the Merchant Adventurers to the East-Indies, and a sum of £786,000 was subscribed, to form a new Joint Stock.(1)

Adjustment, under this Union, of the claims on the quick and dead stock of the Company.

Preparatory to this Subscription, a Committee of the Old, or United Joint Stock, held frequent conferences with a Committee of the subscribers of this New Stock, that the dead stock of the former subscribers might be made over, in right, to this New Joint Stock; and, to prevent all disputes, it was agreed, on the New Stock paying £20,000, in two instalments, to the United Stock, that the forts, privileges, and immunities, in India and Persia, should be made over, in full right, and the three ships, and £14,000 in bullion, prepared for the voyage of this season, transferred, at prime cost, to the New Stock; that, on the arrival of these ships at the Company's factories,

(1)—General Letter from the Court to the Agent and Council at Bengal, 31st December 1657.

CHAP. I. 1657-58. factories, the goods, furniture, and stores, were to be transferred to the new account, at the valuation of six shillings and sixpence sterling, per rial of eight;—that the servants of the New Stock should assist those of the United Stock in recovering their debts;—and that the United Stock should be charged with the expences of the settlements and trade, till the arrival of the shipping of the New Stock, when the Agents of this Stock should take charge, and be entitled to receive the customs at Gombroon, after the 1st October 1658.

The settlements, the rights to which were to be transferred from the old, or United Joint Stock, to the New Stock, were FORT ST. GEORGE, and the several factories on the Coromandel Coast, and in the Bay of Bengal; the factory at SURAT, and its dependencies; the factory at GOMBROON, in Persia, and its dependencies; and the factory at BANTAM, and its dependencies of Jambee and Maccassar. (1)

General meeting of the proprietors, for adjusting the rights of the respective stock-holders

The Committees of the London East-India Company, and the principal Merchant Adventurers, forming together the New Stock, held their first meetings as a Generality, or Court of Proprietors, on the 20th November and 8th December 1657, at which it was agreed to admit as freemen and members of the Company, such persons as had served an apprenticeship to the members of the Joint Stock, on paying a fine of £5; and that the persons who had been possessed of shares in the former trade, and, on that account, had property in the Indies, were not to be

(1)—Agreement of the Committees of the United Stock and the Subscribers to the New Stock, 31st October 1657. (Vol. iii, No. 258).

be deemed Private Traders, but were required, after a specified time, to carry the amount of such property to the account of the New Stock.[1]

Petition Cromwell to protect their settlements against the depredations of the Dutch.

The different interests in Indian affairs, in England, having, by the preceding arrangements, been adjusted, and domestic opposition or rivalship, for the time, terminated, the East-India Company, who were preparing their equipments for the season, with new and considerable funds, to revive and invigorate their trade, deemed it expedient to present a petition to the Protector, stating, that the East-India Company, notwithstanding the treaty with Holland, had lately sustained many losses, insults, and indignities, from the Dutch Company in the East-Indies; that they were again compelled to solicit the protection of His Highness, and prayed that directions might be given to the English Ambassador in Holland, to represent the circumstances to the Dutch East-India Company, that positive orders might be issued to their General at Batavia, and to the commanders of their ships, to abstain from any acts which might interrupt the amicable relations between the two Companies; and if the Dutch Company refused to comply, the London Company trusted, that the Protector would take proper measures to vindicate the honor of the English in India.[2]

(1)—Minutes of the Courts of the Generality or Proprietors of Stocks, 20th November and 8th December 1657. (Vol. iii, Nos. 261 and 262).

(2)—Petition of the London East-India Company to the Protector, praying redress against the Dutch, and enclosing Narrative of their late Proceedings, 19th January 1657-58. (East-India Papers in the State Paper Office, No. 213).

CHAP. I.
1657-58.

A new system of administration formed for Surat, Fort St. George, and Bantam.

Having taken these measures to settle their Charter and exclusive rights in England, the Governor and Court of Committees established a new arrangement for their foreign Presidencies and Factories, the whole of which were, in future, to be subordinate to the President and Council of SURAT, and, more particularly, the Factories and trade in Persia. The Presidency of Fort St. George was to be continued, and the Factories on the Coromandel Coast, and in Bengal, were to be subordinate to it, and the inferior Agencies at Cossimbuzar, Ballasore, and Patna, were to be subordinate to the Factory at Hughly; and such out-stations as the Company possessed, in what was then termed the Southern Seas, were to remain dependent on the President and Council of Bantam.

To prevent the irregularities which had arisen from the private traffic of the Company's servants, this practice was prohibited, and increased salaries allowed to the Presidents and Members of Council, and to the subordinate servants; but, previously to being paid these salaries or allowances, they were to sign security bonds, or covenants, to specified amounts, to observe this condition, and to keep diaries of their proceedings, the originals to remain at the Presidency, Factory, or Agency, and certified copies annually transmitted to the Court.

Under these new regulations, the Court re-appointed the Presidents and Councils, and, in general, their civil servants, to take charge of their affairs; and explained, that the new Stock was not to be liable to any debts, which those servants might

might have contracted, while they were in the employment of the United Joint Stock, whether such debts were due to Europeans, or to the native powers or merchants, but that these creditors might recover the debts due to them, by the laws of the country where they resided. CHAP. I. 1657-58.

Under this system, the ships of the season were fitted out for each of the Presidencies:—the ship for Fort St. George, besides her cargo, carried a stock of £15,500 in bullion, one half of which was to be invested in Coast goods, and the other half remitted to the factories in Bengal:—three ships were consigned to Surat, Persia, and Bantam, and one of them was to touch at the Coast of Africa, to take in what gold, elephants' teeth, &c. could be obtained, for the Indian market:—the ship for Bengal was to bring home an investment of fine cottons and silks of that country, and on her return to Fort St. George, to receive what proportion of cinnamon and the finer spices had been collected, and such quantity of saltpetre as might be in store; —the commander, as well as the factors in Bengal, were to conform themselves to such orders, as they might receive from the President and Council of Fort St. George. (1)

The

(1)—Letters from the Court of Committees of the London Company to the Agent and Council at Hughly, 31st December 1657, and 27th February and 22d March 1657-58.—Letter from the Committee of the late United Stock to the Agent and Council at Hughly, 27th February 1657-58.

CHAP. I.
1657-58.
Trade of Surat at a stand by the wars for the succession on the death of the Mogul, Shah Jehan.

The situation, both in respect of rights and of trade, to which the Company's Presidencies and Factories had been reduced, in 1656-57, continued in 1657-58; so much so, that, in this year, detached accounts, only, from Surat and Persia reached England; and the Court were left to trust to the exertions of their servants at Fort St. George and Bantam, at the time, when, fortunately for the East-India trade of England, the Company's Charter and privileges were restored to them, by the Protector and the Council of State.

At Surat, events had taken place, which materially affected the whole of the European trade in the West of India:—the death of the Emperor Shah Jehan, which happened in this year, brought on a civil war between his four sons, in all the provinces of the Empire; and as the armies of each of these competitors, for the succession, were laying waste the provinces occupied by the others, the useful arts and trade were necessarily suspended and interrupted. The effect of these events on the privileges or trade of the Company, was described, in very forcible language, by the President and Council of Surat:—they observed, "that it was equally dangerous to solicit, or to accept "of protection, it being impossible to foresee who might, "ultimately, be the Mogul." Surat, itself, did not escape the evils of this civil war, for one of the competitors took possession of the castle, while his General (for resources), pillaged a great part

part of the town. In these contests the English factors prudently avoided taking any part; but this caution did not prevent their being obliged to make partial advances of stores to the successive conquerors of the place: their efforts, therefore, were limited to the purchase of small quantities of saltpetre at Ahmedabad and at Scindy, and could not be extended, till they received information from England, whether any farther supply of stock or funds could be expected. (1)

And in Persia, from the projects of the King for conquests in India.

The civil war which prevailed in India, had offered a temptation to the King of PERSIA to invade the Mogul provinces, both in the hope of being able to add some of them to his empire, and, by tributes, to fill his treasury. In this situation, the Company's Agents at Gombroon gave a natural description of their distress, by observing, they kept possession of their house only, that they might not lose the right to it, or their claim to the moiety of the customs; but that they did not expect either to provide an investment of Persian produce, or had attempted the sale of English goods, for such had been the effect of the report that the East-India Company had been dissolved, that the Bashaw of Bussorah had taken possession of their factory and stores:—the trade, therefore, in the Persian Gulf, was, as far as regarded the English, at a stand. (2)

(1)—General Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 5th November 1657, and 16th January 1657-58.

(2)—Letter from the Agent and Council at Gombroon to the Court, 12th December 1657.

1658-59.

CHAP. I.
1658-59.

Death of Cromwell, and dissolution of the Protectorate.

THE shifting aspects in the Government, to which it has been necessary to refer, for a series of years, to explain the sources of the measures taken by the East-India Company, assumed, in the year 1658-59, new and important characters. In the first period of this season, the war in the Spanish Netherlands, carried on by the French and English, against Spain, gave to them the possession of Dunkirk, in June 1658, which was delivered to the English, according to treaty; but, soon after this event, the death of Cromwell, on the 3d September 1658, by removing the Leader of the Commonwealth, prepared the kingdom for new civil convulsions.

Council of Officers assume the Sovereignty.

Though Richard Cromwell was raised, for a short time, to the Protectorate, his incapacity for this perilous situation was soon discovered; the cabals of the officers against him terminated in forming the Great Council of the Army, and this Council and the Parliament, which Richard Cromwell had assembled, in January 1658-59, having opposite interests, he was obliged, on the 22d April 1659, to dissolve it; an event

event which transferred to the Council of Officers, the only authority which existed in England, who nominated Major General Fleetwood to be General.

CHAP. I. 1658-59.

Measures adopted by the Company during this convulsed period.

The Company, during these events, rested on the resolution of the Council of State, to confirm their Charter and exclusive privileges, and continued their applications to Cromwell, to almost the period of his death. In the short interval in which Richard Cromwell held the Protectorate, they avoided making any applications to him, or to the Council of Officers, but confined themselves entirely to the appropriation of their funds, and to the equipments of their outward-bound fleets, giving only general instructions to their foreign Presidencies.

Though the East-India Company had formed a coalition with the principal Merchant Adventurers, Cromwell, early in this season, granted a licence to a Mr. Rolt, (without consulting the Company,) to export to India, on his own account, three mortars, and twenty thousand shells, consigned to a Colonel Rainsford at Surat, who must have proceeded to India on some of the ships of the Merchant Adventurers, or Assada Merchants, and probably had retained this title, from having held a commission in some of the corps of the Parliament army, which had been reduced, after Cromwell assumed the Protectorate; for it subsequently appears, that this licence was an indulgence to him, on a representation to the Protector, that he could dispose of them to Aurungzebe, described as "Prince of Ra- "jahpore." This licence alarmed the Company, who applied

CHAP. I. 1658-59. to the Protector to prohibit this illicit trade, and directed the President and Council of Surat to seize on the articles, and dispose of them, on their account.(1)

The last application which the Company made to Cromwell was by a petition against some recent injuries by the Dutch in the East-Indies;—the petition stated, that, notwithstanding the Protector had renewed their former Charters, and granted them additional and exclusive privileges, and, also, notwithstanding the late treaty with the States General, the Company continued to suffer many indignities from the Dutch, particularly by their having blockaded the port of Bantam, and prevented the Company's ships from obtaining their cargoes of pepper, and by seizing four ships belonging to the Merchant Adventurers, off Bantam, and on the Coast of Sumatra;—that though the Company were not (as a corporate body) interested in the loss of those four ships, yet they were compelled, from the interruption their commerce was likely to experience, to represent the circumstance to the Protector, and to pray, that he would require from the States General, satisfaction for the damage already sustained, and assurances from them, that the trade to Bantam should not, for the future, be impeded by the Dutch, whose object and intention was to acquire the same monopoly of pepper, as they had already done of the finer spices. This petition of the East-

(1)—Minutes of Court, 10th to 17th May 1658. (Vol. iv, 1658 to 1689, No. 282 to 285).

East-India Company to the Protector, was accompanied by one from the Merchant Adventurers, concerned in the four ships seized by the Dutch, praying for restitution of the ships and satisfaction for their losses.(1)

Equipments formed on the New Joint Stock, and instructions to the foreign settlements.

After the death of Cromwell, the Company appear to have proceeded with their equipments on the New Stock, and to have confined themselves entirely to general instructions to their foreign Presidencies and Factories.

The first general instruction regarded the application of the stock, and the investment which the Court would require, to recover the home market, that they might impress the governing power, and the public at large, with the importance and value of the East-India trade. The equipments of the season consisted of four ships, on which the stock in money, exclusive of goods, on board each vessel, amounted to £10,000, and among the goods (the more effectually to check Mr. Rolt and Colonel Rainsford's speculation) were sent large quantities of ordnance, mortars, shells, &c., which the different Presidencies were directed (remaining themselves neutral in the wars of the four sons of Shah Jehan for the succession) to dispose of, at the best price, to the first of the competitors who might apply for them. One of the ships was consigned to Surat, one to Fort St. George, and two to Bantam

(1)—Petitions of the East-India Company and of the Merchant Adventurers, for satisfaction for Losses sustained from the Dutch at Bantam, 12th August 1658. (East-India Papers in State Paper Office, Nos. 214, 215).

CHAP. I. 1658-59. Bantam and Maccassar, but to touch at Fort St. George for Coast cloths, to be disposed of at Jambee, and then return to Bengal and to Fort St. George, to take in Bengal and Coromandel goods for Europe. This instruction was intended to revive the system of exchanges between their Settlements, that, from the profits of such exchanges, they might increase the resources, and, at the same time, provide a more valuable investment for the home sales.

A second general instruction was, that a proportion of the stock should be left at each of the Presidencies and Factories, that their servants might have funds to take advantage of the markets, when goods could be obtained at the most reasonable rates; intending, by this expedient, equally to recover the trade, and the Company's credit.

A third general instruction was, to endeavor to recover a proportion of the trade in pepper, and in the finer spices; and, with this view, one of the ships was to proceed direct to Bantam, Acheen, and Maccassar, to take in pepper, cloves, &c., and then to return to the Coromandel Coast, and, if possible, obtain at Fort St. George (from its vicinity to Ceylon) a proportion of cinnamon for the Europe sales.

The last general instruction was founded on the connexion which the East-India Company had been compelled to form with the Assada Merchants; one of the ships was ordered to touch at the Coast of Africa, at Cormantine Castle (since called Cape Coast Castle), and endeavor to exchange

change English cloths and manufactures for gold, ivory, &c., and then to proceed to Fort St. George, and apply one proportion of this produce to the purchase of Coromandel cloths, and to remit the remainder to Bengal, to procure articles in that country, suited to the Europe market. (1)

Trade revived at Surat, and the Company's credit restored by the new Joint Stock.

The Presidency of SURAT, before receiving information that the Company's rights and privileges, in England, had been confirmed by the Protector and Council of State, reported to the Court, that the trade had been depressed by the wars, between the Mogul's sons, for the succession, and that these wars had prevented the purchase of the goods required for the investment, although the funds they had received, had restored the Company's credit in the opinion of the natives;—the purchase of indigo and saltpetre had again been practicable at Agra and Surat, and the trade was opened with Ahmedabad, though the competitions of the Merchant Adventurers, by draining the country of produce, and raising the prices, had rendered it difficult to procure the goods, either in quantity or quality, as required by the instructions of the Court; they had, however, expended the sum of £80,000, agreeably to orders; for after retaining what was required for the Surat market, they remitted £10,000 to

(1)—Letters from the Court to the President and Council of Fort St. George, 18th September 1658, and 28th January 1658-59.—— Letters from the Court to the Agent and Council at Hughly, 27th March 1658, and 28th January 1658-59.

CHAP. I. 1658-59. to Persia, £6,000 to Bantam, and £6,000 to Mocha:—this stock, though large, was not sufficient to re-establish the trade of the Company on the West of India, and therefore they submitted, that it would be more advantageous to borrow money in England, where it could be readily procured, at four per cent., than to allow them to take up money at Surat, at the rate of eight or nine per cent.:— the sale of exports from England, from the state of the country, was slow, and the ordnance and stores remained in the warehouses, not being in demand, from the decided superiority which Aurungzebe had obtained over the other competitors:— though the New Stock and credit had revived the general trade of the Company, vessels, of from two hundred, to two hundred and fifty tons burthen, sufficiently armed, must be sent from England, to be employed in the coasting trade, from port to port, on the Malabar Coast, and thence to proceed to Bantam and to Fort St. George, and then returning to Surat, increase the resources of this Presidency, by the profits from circuitous exchanges.

Having given this general account of their trade, the Presidency submitted, that, to obviate the difficulties which had been experienced from the rivalship of the European powers, application ought to be made to the King of Portugal, to issue his orders to the Viceroy of Goa, to frame a new commercial treaty, between the Portuguese and the English, in the East-Indies; and an application to the States General, for orders to their Governor General at Batavia, to put the

English

English in possession of their trade at Bantam, and the Island of Polaroon, the Dutch having, by the conquest of Ceylon, engrossed the whole of the trade in the finer spices, and by their blockade of Bantam, endeavored to include pepper in their monopoly. The Presidency of Surat, to restore the Company's authority, had given notice to the English seamen, who had entered on the country ships, during the interruption of the privileges, to return to Surat, or be liable to be sent to England; which they refused to comply with, unless an order from the Protector should be issued, enjoining them to obedience.

The Presidency of Surat (for there is no report this season from the Company's Agencies in PERSIA), added, that the charges of supporting the Factory at Gombroon had nearly absorbed the small proportion of customs which had been recovered, and, indeed, the whole profits, this year, of the Persian trade. (1)

State of trade at Fort St. George.

The intelligence of the confirmation of the Company's rights and privileges reached FORT ST. GEORGE in the month of August 1658, and was forwarded to the Factories in Bengal; the covenants, required from their servants, had been executed at both stations:—the proportions of the stock intended for Fort St. George, and for Bengal, had been applied, agreeably to

(1)—General Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 16th October 1658, 15th January 1658-59, and 12th April 1659.—— Letter from the President and Council of Surat to the late United Joint Stock, 20th January 1658-59.—— Letter from the President and Council of Surat to Captain Langford relative to English Seamen on board country shipping, 15th November 1568.

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1658-59.

to the orders of the Court, and proportions of the gold, obtained at Cormantine Castle, had been added to the funds for the investment on the Coast, and sent to Bengal, at which saltpetre, of the finest kind, could be obtained, as well as goods, at reasonable rates, for the shipping of the subsequent season. (1)

Bantam continued blockaded by the Dutch.

The blockade of BANTAM by the Dutch, referred to in the report of the President and Council of Surat, accounts equally for the interruption of the Company's trade in that quarter, and for the ignorance in which the Court was kept, in this season, of the real state of their Southern trade.

(1)—Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. George to the Agent and Council in Bengal, 23d August 1658.

1659-60.

CHAP. I.
1659-60.
The Parliament dismissed by Cromwell, in 1653, reassembled.

In 1659-60, the Government continued to be unsettled; and though the Council of Officers, which was directed by Fleetwood and Lambert, in fact, constituted the ruling power, they soon found, that the English nation could only be conciliated, by restoring a Parliament. These leaders had already discovered, that the assembly convoked in the preceding year, under that name, neither could acquire respect, nor grant authority, and, therefore, resolved to re-assemble the Parliament which had been dismissed by Cromwell, in 1653, on the presumption, that its legality would be more generally recognized; and that Richard Cromwell, who had the name, only, of Protector, and General Monk, who commanded in the North, would probably submit to its resolutions. The event answered their expectation with respect to Richard Cromwell, and, apparently, with respect to General Monk: Fleetwood was appointed by the Parliament Commander-in-Chief, for one year, and the Speaker was to sign all military commissions. This disjointed system could not continue; conspiracies of the Royalists were every day forming, and the disputes between the officers, guided by Lambert, who approached London with the army, were bringing the authority of this

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Parliament into hazard. Fleetwood's commission was annulled, and Lambert appointed General by the Officers, who again formed a Council of Safety, for the administration of the Government. The power of the officers, though supported in the capital, by the presence of Lambert and the army, began to decline, while Monk advanced with another army from the North, and by his prudence and policy, conciliated the Council and the City of London. These events, at the close of this season, produced a kind of temporary arrangement in public affairs, which, in the sequel, we shall find, led to the Restoration of the Monarchy.

The Company give their servants abroad discretionary powers, it being impracticable to send specific instructions.

In this situation of affairs, the London East-India Company, as merchants, observed the same caution, which had marked their proceedings at the period when the Monarchy was subverting, and giving way to the Commonwealth; instead of giving instructions to their foreign Presidencies or Factories, situated at so remote a distance from England, they thought it wiser to leave their servants to act according to circumstances, and from a sense of duty, than either to convey information of the shifting forms of the Government, or to hazard the safety of the Company's property, by orders, which it might have been as impracticable to execute, as, if proceeded on, it might have been dangerous to connect with the actual circumstances of the Company in England.

While

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1659-60.

The Presidency of Surat adopt measures for the safety of the homeward-bound shipping.

While the administration of the Company's affairs in England was, from the preceding events, in a great measure suspended, it becomes interesting to look at the expedients which their foreign Presidencies devised, when left to struggle with difficulties, and under no restraint but a sense of duty.

The President and Council of SURAT, in the beginning of this season, described the Mogul provinces to have, in general, submitted to the Aurungzebe; as the other competitors were not, either from capacity or resources, in a situation to resist his authority: the Dutch power, at the same time, was daily increasing, from the strong fleets which they had on the Malabar Coast, which obliged the Presidency to detain the Company's ships in port, under the protection of the Mogul Governor, from an apprehension of a war between England and Holland.

Affairs were in this situation, when letters were received from Aleppo, informing the President of the death of Cromwell; on which a consultation was held at Surat, by the President and Council, and the commanders of the Company's ships, on the 26th December 1659, at which it was resolved, that the Company's homeward-bound ships should sail as a fleet, and that the commanders should enter into an obligation, of £6,000 each, not to separate, as far as might be practicable;—that they should, in the first instance, proceed to St. Helena, and,

 if

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if separated, rendezvous at that island;—on their making this port, they were to act according to the intelligence which they might receive from England, respecting the state of the Government and of the Company; in the event of their not obtaining information which could be relied on, they were to direct their course to the Island of Barbadoes, at which they were to remain, either till they should receive intelligence from England, of the state of the Government, or such information as would enable them to provide for the safety of the Company's shipping.

Recommend that some station should be fixed on, at which the Company's property might be deposited, in cases of emergency.

It was during this emergency, that the Presidency of Surat informed the Court, that, in obedience to their instructions, they had been examining the West Coast of India, to discover some strong situation, which could be fortified, to become a place of safety to their servants and property; and recommended to its choice, Dandah-Rajahpore, Bombay, and Vissava, and that an application should be made to the King of Portugal, to cede one of those places to the English;—and concluded by reporting, that from their want of money, and from the difficulty of obtaining credit, except at exorbitant interest, and from the great mortality among their servants, the sales of the Europe exports had been limited, and their purchases of Indian produce could not enable them to promise, that the investments for the shipping would be considerable. (1)

Similar

(1)—Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 30th September 1659, and 13th January 1659-60. Consultation of the President and Council and commanders of shipping, held at Surat, 26th December 1659. (Vol. xxii, No. 2032).

Project a plan for getting possession of Muscat.

Similar unfavorable accounts are given of the state of the trade in PERSIA, from the great power of the Dutch in the Gulf, and from the prevailing opinion, that the Company had been dissolved: — in this situation, the Presidency of Surat projected the plan of obtaining possession of MUSCAT, as a port which would place their shipping in safety, and enable them, if the Company's fleets could be increased, to overawe the Persian Government, and again recover their proportion of that trade. With this view, they employed Colonel Rainsford (the same person who was described, last season, to have come to Surat on some of the Merchant Adventurers' shipping, and to whom the ordnance purchased by Mr. Rolt had been consigned), to negotiate the occupation of Muscat; conceiving that this port, in the hands of the English, would have a beneficial effect on their Coast trade on the West of India; as, from it, they could, in retaliation, seize on the Malabar junks; and, at all events, it would tend to the preservation of the Company's right to the customs at Gombroon. This plan had so far succeeded, that the negotiation had been commenced with the Governor of Muscat, and should this port be acquired for the Company, it would be necessary to have a garrison, of at least a hundred soldiers, to defend it. (1)

Trade on the Coromandel Coast obstructed by Sevagee's wars in Golcondah and Visiapore.

The same measures which the President and Council at FORT ST. GEORGE had adopted, in the preceding year, to recover their trade, and to provide investments, were, in this season, continued,

(1) Letters from the President and Council of Surat to the Court, 12th April, and 30th September 1659, and 13th January 1659-60.

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continued, or one part of the new funds which they had received, was applied to purchase investments on the Coast, and the other to support the trade in Bengal, from which the Agents had not withdrawn, when accounts arrived, of the settlement of the Company's rights in England.

It is probable, that the distracted state of the Carnatic, from the conquests of Sevagee in Golcondah and Visiapore, had become more general, and that those events had obstructed the re-establishment of the Company's trade; for there remains no evidence of the actual circumstances of their affairs, on the Coromandel Coast, during this season.

Trade in Bengal in a more favorable state.

The application of the proportion of the goods and money sent to BENGAL, had an immediate effect on the trade, for though English cloths and manufactures had not sold to great advantage (as the demand for them in Bengal was inconsiderable), salt-petre of the best quality had been purchased at reasonable rates, and considerable quantities of raw-silk and taffaties, which were new articles in the investment. This encouraging circumstance induced the Agent to represent the necessity of building new and large warehouses, for the accommodation of their stores; but, at the same time, he mentioned, that the conduct of the Nabob had been oppressive, and had frequently alarmed them for the permanency of a branch of trade, which otherwise might, in a short time, be increased to any amount, and rendered valuable, from the fine qualities of the goods.[1]

It

(1)—Letter from the Agent and Council at Hugbly to the Court, 23d November 1659.

Bantam still blockaded by the Dutch.

It can only be collected, from the information obtained by the Court, from the President and Council of Surat, that the blockade of BANTAM still continued, and that communications between it and the Coast, and Surat, were suspended:— this blockade induced the Presidency of Surat to dispatch one of their ships to Acheen, to obtain pepper, the Government at that port having offered to give protection to the Company's factors and trade, which vessel, after leaving Acheen, was to proceed to Maccassar, to procure a proportion of the finer spices; those articles being of so much consequence in the investments for Europe, and in any opening which might again introduce the Company's trade into Persia.

(1)—Letter from the Presidency and Council of Surat to the Court, 30th September 1659.

1660-61.

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1660-61.

Restoration of King Charles II.

The shifting forms, which the Government of England had assumed in the preceding year, were all evidently tending to the Restoration of the Monarchy. General Monk was appointed Captain General of the Armies of the three kingdoms. The Parliament, having previously repealed the Oath of Abjuration against the King, dissolved themselves, and issued writs for a new Parliament, to meet on the 25th April 1660 :—when this assembly met, Charles II, that he might reconcile General Monk to his interest, and obtain his support, sent him a secret commission, appointing him Captain General of his armies ;—matters being thus prepared, Sir John Greenvill, in the name of the King, presented a declaration to the Lords, promising a free and general pardon; on which the Lords, early in May 1660, voted, that the Government of England ought to be vested in King, Lords, and Commons ; and the House of Commons, by a vote, came to a resolution to the same effect :—this was followed by the proclamation of the King, in London, who, on the 29th May 1660, arrived at Whitehall, and was restored to the throne of his ancestors.

Renewal of the ancient alliances between England and the Continental powers.

This great event was accompanied by the renewal of the political and commercial relations, between the King and the continental powers, and reference must be made to those relations

relations, which more immediately affected the trade of England with the East-Indies, before we can bring under review the measures which the London Company adopted.

Peace with Spain.

Philip IV. of Spain, on receiving intelligence of the Restoration, issued a declaration, ordering his officers to desist from hostilities against England: this was the more to be expected, from his having entered into a treaty with the King, during his exile, at the time when Cromwell had declared war against Spain. In return for this declaration, King Charles, by a proclamation, restored to their full force the treaties of Madrid, 1630, and of London, 1604, and on the basis of these treaties, the commercial relations of the two kingdoms were re-established. (1)

The States General send Commissioners to England, to renew the treaties of alliance, and to restore the Island of Polaroon.

The States General, on the 5th October 1660, appointed Prince Louis of Nassau, and Mynheers Van Hoorn, Van Goch, and De Ripperda, their Commissioners, to proceed to England, to congratulate the King on his Restoration; and to propose a renewal of the treaties of alliance and commerce which had subsisted between the two countries:—this negotiation was protracted for a considerable time, as the treaty was not concluded till September 1662. (2)

(1)—Printed Copy of Articles of Peace between King Charles II. and the King of Spain, 20th September 1660.—— Proclamation declaring the Cessation of Hostility, and preserving an entire Amity between His Majesty and the King of Spain, 10th September 1660. (Preserved in the State Paper Office, Whitehall).

(2)—Original Commission of the States General to Prince Louis of Nassau and others to conclude a treaty with Great Britain, 5th October 1660. (Preserved in the State Paper Office, Whitehall).

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At the opening of this negotiation, the Commissioners presented a copy of the order which the States General and the Dutch East-India Company had issued to the Governor General of Batavia, to cede the Island of Polaroon to the London East-India Company, as a possession, recognized by treaties between the Crown of England and the States, as exclusively belonging to England. Upon this order of the States, the King granted a Commission to the London East-India Company to take possession of the Island of Polaroon, and to send officers, and form a colony of the King's natural subjects on it, to be protected by a military force.

Polaroon desolated, by secret orders to the Governor of the Bandas.

The States General appear to have made this cession of the Island of Polaroon, not with a view of allowing the English to participate in the spice trade, (conformably to the treaties between the two nations,) but, obviously, to facilitate the renewal of the treaties in Europe; for the Governor General at Batavia issued secret orders to the Governor of the Bandas, to destroy all the spice trees on the Island of Polaroon.

Company petition the King for redress, and to be restored to their proportion of the spice trade.

On receiving information of this outrage, the London East-India Company presented a petition to the King, praying that His Majesty would be pleased to remonstrate with the States General on this proceeding, and that Commissioners should be appointed to carry into effect the rights of the English Company, to their proportion of the spice trade.(1)

In

(1)—Copy of Order of the States General to the Governor of Batavia, to deliver the Island of Polaroon to the London East-India Company, November 1660.—— Copy of Commission from King Charles II. to the East-India Company, to repossess and fortify the

CHAP. I. 1660-61. Company's instructions to their foreign settlements.

In the measures of the East-India Company, at the time when they were turning their attention to regain, from the Crown, the confirmation of their privileges, we discover the important fact, that, during the Interregnum, as well as during the reigns which had preceded it, their Charter, as a corporate body, had been recognized, though their exclusive privileges had been frequently infringed and endangered; they, therefore, acted in their equipments, and in their instructions to their servants, as if they had been in the full enjoyment of both, at the time when they were preparing applications to the Crown, to have both confirmed.

With these views, they sent instructions, in September 1660, to their Agents at Hughly, to provide a large assortment of silks and taffaties for the home investment, to be in readiness for the ships of the ensuing season, but not to send more than two hundred tons of saltpetre, which might be provided at Patna; and, in future, not to purchase any Bengal sugars.(1)

The embarrassed state of the Company's funds, at this particular period, may be inferred, from the resolutions they had taken, to relinquish many of their out-stations, and to limit their trade, in the Peninsula of India, to the Presidencies of Surat and Fort St. George, and their subordinate Factories; to withdraw the Factories from Agra, Ahmedabad, Mocha, and

 Bussorah,

the Island of Polaroon, December 1660.—— Petition of the East-India Company, to the King, relative to the Island of Polaroon, 1660-61. (MSS. in the Indian Register Office, marked F. 1, unbound, pages 245, 249. No. 79, 45).

(1)—Letters from the Court to the Agent and Council at Hughly, 14th September 1660, and 6th February 1660-61.

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Bussorah; to continue those at Gombroon, Scindy, Rajahpore, Carwar, and Caile-Velha; and to make the Agency in Bengal subordinate to the Presidency of Fort St. George.(1)

Company petition the King for restoration of their Charter and exclusive privileges.

These private measures were precautionary only, and subservient to the application which the Company intended to make to the King; as His Majesty manifested a disposition to re-establish all the legal rights and privileges, which either had been interrupted, or infringed, during the Interregnum; more particularly, such as tended to restore the commercial relations between his Crown and the maritime powers.

Though Cromwell had compelled the Dutch, by treaty, to make compensation to the East-India Company, for the injuries they had sustained, and to promise restitution, these conditions had been evaded; and they were satisfied, that they could not be enforced in any effectual manner, but by new Letters Patent, recognizing their ancient rights, with such additions as would more fully ascertain and re-invigorate the direct trade between England and the East-Indies.

Substance of the Charter granted by King Charles II. to the Company, 3d April 1661.

King Charles II., in consideration of these circumstances, granted to the London East-India Company his Letters Patent, bearing date the 3d April 1661, in the thirteenth year of his reign.

The preamble to this Charter stated, that the Company had been, for a long time, a corporation, for the honor and profit of the nation, and that they had enjoyed certain liberties and privileges

(1)—Letter from the Court to the President and Council of Surat, 27th March 1661.

privileges, granted to them by Queen Elizabeth and King James; —that great disorders had been committed, to the prejudice of the Company, and the interruption of their trade, both by the King's subjects, and by foreigners; for redress of which, at the petition of the said Governor and Company, they were declared, by this Charter, to be a body politic and corporate, in deed and in name, with perpetual succession; and capable, in law, to purchase and possess, and to alienate, sell, and dispose of lands, tenements, &c.;—that they might sue and be sued, in all courts and places, in the same manner as any other subjects of the King, and that they might, under their common seal, change or alter what might be for the common interest of the Company;—that they might hold general courts, and make bye-laws;—" that they should, for ever hereafter, have, use, " and enjoy, the whole, entire, and only trade and traffic, to " and from the East-Indies;"—that no person should trade thither, without their licence, under their common seal, and that no licence to individuals should be granted by the Crown, without consent of the Company;—that the Adventurers should vote according to their stock; £500 stock, to constitute a vote;—that all plantations, forts, fortifications, factories, or colonies, in the East-Indies, acquired by the Company, should be under their control; and, that they were to have the appointment of all governors and officers;—that they might export military stores, and be empowered to make peace and war with any prince or people, not being Christians;—that they might erect fortifications at St. Helena, and elsewhere, within their limits,

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limits, and carry out such a number of men as might be willing to go thither;—that they might seize unlicenced persons, and send them to England; and that they were not to trade in the dominions of any Christian prince or people, in amity with England, without the consent of such prince or people.[1]

Rights conferred or restored by this Charter.

On comparing these Letters Patent of King Charles II. with those which had been originally granted to the London East-India Company, by Queen Elizabeth, in 1600, it will be found, that, in their spirit, though not in their terms, they corresponded with each other; for the Queen constituted the London East-India Company, at its establishment, a body politic and corporate, with succession, but only gave them the exclusive trade to the East-Indies, "*for fifteen years:*" but, by the grant of Charles II., these exclusive privileges were given "*for ever.*" On comparing, next, the Letters Patent of King Charles II. with the Letters Patent of King James I., dated the 13th May 1609, it will be found, that, in their spirit and terms, they agreed with each other, as both constituted the London East-India Company, a body politic and corporate, with perpetual succession, and granted to them, to have, "*for ever,*" the entire and exclusive trade in the East-Indies, specifying, in the same manner as the preceding grants had done, that if this right of an exclusive trade, or the continuance of it, should not be found profitable to the King, or to the realm, that, after three years' notice, under the Privy Seal or Sign Manual, it should cease or determine.

The

(1)—Letters Patent, 3d April 1661, 13th Charles II. (Printed Collection of Charters of the East-India Company, quarto, page 54).

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1660-61.
Affairs at Surat nearly in the same state as in the preceding season, but the plan of getting possession of Muscat had failed.

The precaution which had been taken by the President and Council of SURAT, of dispatching the Company's homeward ships to St. Helena, and (if intelligence should not be obtained there) to Barbadoes, to await information from England, gives a strong description of the embarrassment under which the Company's Presidencies and Factories, in India, were placed, from neither knowing in whom the Government in England was vested, nor under what circumstances their immediate superiors, the Governor and Court of Committees, were acting.

It was impossible, that any of the foreign stations of the Company could know, in this season, either the events affecting the Company's rights, which preceded the Restoration, or those which followed it; and, therefore, the accounts of their affairs, in the Indies, are, as might have been expected at such a period, detached and broken.

It had been previously settled by the Company, proceeding on the authority given them by Cromwell, to fix the principal seat of their trade at Surat, but to make Fort St. George the centre of their trade on the Coromandel Coast:—it can be collected, only, from the former station, that they had acted under the precautions, described in their reports of the preceding year, without having been able to obtain possession of Muscat, or to revive the trade in PERSIA.

From

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1660-61.

Trade reviving at Fort St. George.

From FORT ST. GEORGE the information is more precise, and extends, on the one hand, to the Company's trade to the eastwards, and, on the other, to their proceedings in BENGAL. The bullion which had been received from Europe had been coined into pagodas, at the Company's mint at the Fort, and one part of it had been sent to Acheen, Jambee, and Maccassar, to purchase pepper and spices; and another proportion to Bengal, to purchase saltpetre, silks, muslins, &c., which, with part of the spices to be obtained from these ports, were to go to Surat, as means to re-open the trade with Persia, and, with Coromandel cloths, to fill up the investment for Europe: but the homeward-bound ships, from Fort St. George, were first to proceed to Bengal, to take in goods from that country, to render the investment more complete.(1)

The Factory at Hughly threatened by Meer Jumlah, the Mogul's General, in consequence of the Agent having seized a country junk.

From the favorable appearances of the Company's trade in Bengal, in 1659-60, an opinion was entertained, both at Surat and at Fort St. George, that it would rapidly become valuable and productive, if the oppressions of the Nabob could be prevented :—In 1660-61, however, an event occurred, which threatened the ruin of this trade. The oppressions of the Nabob had been so great, that the Agent at Hughly resorted to the rash measure of seizing a country junk, in the river Ganges, as a security for the recovery of debts :—this act was considered by Meer Jumlah, the celebrated General of Aurungzebe, as unjustifiable, who threatened not only to retaliate on the

(1)—Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. George to the Court, 11th January 1660-61.

the Company's out-agencies, but to seize their house and factory at Hughly. Alarmed at this danger, the Agent applied to the President and Council of Surat for instructions, by whom he was directed to repair the junk, and offer to re-deliver it to the Mogul General. Should these concessions not be accepted, he was ordered to call in all the out-agencies, and to have all the Company's stores and property, at Hughly, ready to be shipped, and to leave the place;—the Agent was also warned to be on his guard against the address, as well as the actions, of the Mogul officers, the leading features of whose character are described in the following terms: "that they usually offered "civilities, at the very moment when they intended to have "recourse to violence and depredation." (1)

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1660-61.

(1)—Letter from the Presidency of Surat to the Agent and Council at Hughly, 21st June 1660.

CHAP. I.

RESULTS from the preceding detail of events, ascertaining the Company's rights, from Elizabeth to Charles II.

THIS Review of the Annals of the London East-India Company, during the first period of its history, or from its establishment by Queen Elizabeth, to the restoration of its privileges by King Charles II, founded on original documents, authorizes the following results :—

I.—That the discovery of the circuitous navigation to the East-Indies, by Vasco de Gama, which coincided nearly in point of time with the discovery of America, by Columbus, opened new and valuable sources of wealth, and produced a more enlarged system of politics, and of commerce, among the European nations :—That, during the century in which Spain discovered America, and Portugal the passage to the East-Indies, the resources and power of both kingdoms were increased to that height, as to become subjects of political and commercial jealousy to the other maritime nations of Europe ; and though, during this century, the ancient routes of the East-India trade, to the ports in the Mediterranean, were kept open, yet this trade was gradually on the decline :—That, after the revolution in Holland had separated the United Provinces from Spain, the Dutch were roused to make efforts to acquire a part of the East-Indian trade, and their example stimulated the English nation to the like enterprize ; naval strength, thus, began to be as much a subject of national importance and jealousy, as the great

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armies of the continental states, which were contending for paramount power in Europe; and it was from these sources, that the prevailing principle of a Balance of Power was combined with the new principle of a Balance of Trade.

II.—That it was with the object of adding to the maritime strength of England, on which its defence against the Spanish Armada had so recently depended, and of invigorating the balance of trade, that Queen Elizabeth, by Charter, established the London East-India Company, with exclusive privileges; and as, at this juncture, the other European maritime powers were directing their efforts to other sources of commerce, the English and Dutch East-India Companies became the rivals of the Portuguese, in the direct trade to the East-Indies, when the political interests of those three nations were combining to form alliances in Europe, intended to defend their respective territories, against the aggrandizement, either of Spain, or of France.

III.—That, from a general review of the Portuguese conquests in the East-Indies, it appears, their settlements and trade, during the period in which they were administered by the officers who had established them, were extensive and consolidated; but that, from the time when the Crown of Portugal was annexed to that of Spain, the Portuguese settlements in the East were left without resources, or the adequate means of defence, and gradually became acquisitions to the Dutch:—That after Portugal again became a separate sovereignty, its

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CHAP. I. RESULTS. national spirit was broken, till at last, by its treaty with Holland (under the mediation of England, in 1661), it relinquished its claims on the Dutch conquests in the East-Indies, on condition that the States General should recognize its rights to the Brazils.

IV.—That the commercial enterprizes and conquests of the Dutch, in the East-Indies, arose from the defenceless situation of the Portuguese and English establishments; from the Dutch East-India Company being supported by large funds and fleets, and assimilated with the States General (many of their Directors being also members of the States); and from the varying politics of the English Government, which successively infringed on the exclusive privileges of the London East-India Company;—events which abridged their equipments, and prevented them from extending their commerce at the few factories which they could preserve, or from defraying the heavy charges of those factories, and the repeated losses, in stores and shipping, to which they were exposed.

V.—That the native states in the East-Indies, at whose ports the London East-India Company opened a trade, were unequal in their power, either to admit, or to protect, their shipping or their factors:—That from the Cape of Good Hope to the Indus, a mixed barter, only, could be attempted; that from the Indus to the Ganges, though the Mogul Empire had been established, and reduced to a regular system by Akbar, the frequent civil wars, for the succession, rendered commercial intercourse difficult,

cult, and the tenures, by Phirmaunds, or grants, from the Moguls, or from their officers, precarious and expensive; and those from the inferior chiefs on the Malabar or Coromandel Coasts still more temporary and uncertain:—That the chiefs, in the Islands, eastwards of the Peninsula, did not possess power sufficient to protect the strangers who sought commercial intercourse at the ports of their dominions; and, from their frequent wars with each other, often requested the assistance of the European traders which reduced them to become, either their dependents, or their subjects.

VI.—That though the Charter of Queen Elizabeth distinctly defined the corporate and exclusive rights of the East-India Company, the death of this wise Sovereign, while their voyages were experimental only, exposed them to the varying policy of her successor; who, a stranger to the rising English commerce, introduced, by licences, the interferences of Private Merchants, or Interlopers, contrary to the express terms of the Queen's Charter: but this infraction of the Company's privileges was, in a few years, admitted, by King James, to be as unwise, as it was unjust; for, in 1609, he renewed the Company's Charter, and made their exclusive privileges permanent:—That, on the basis of this Charter, the First Joint Stock of the London Company was formed, to provide sufficient funds for four years, or four successive voyages, and Sir Thomas Roe, at the Company's expence, sent as the King's Ambassador to the Mogul:—That, in 1617-18, when the Second Joint Stock was formed, the

CHAP. I. RESULTS. the funds and equipments of the London Company excited the jealousy of the Dutch, who considered that this large stock, and proportionate equipments, would raise the English trade in the East-Indies to the same height as their own,—an event which led to the treaty of 1619, and the appointment of a Council of Defence, constituted in such a manner as to depress the trade and exertions of the London Company, and to become the source of those aggressions, which produced mutual complaints to their respective sovereignties, but did not terminate in any definitive arrangement; and this situation of the English and Dutch affairs in the East, led to the massacre at Amboyna: an outrage, reparation for which was not obtained, at the death of King James I.

VII.—That, though King Charles I., at his accession, and during the first years of his reign, not only attempted to obtain, by negotiation, redress from the States General, for the losses of the Company, but proceeded to retaliation on their homeward-bound ships, yet the rising factions in England lessened the authority of the Crown, and obliged the King to recede from those spirited measures, which the Company hoped would have procured them redress from the Dutch:—That, from the year 1630 to 1635, though the Company formed their Third Joint Stock, and established regulations for the suppression of private traffic, the disputes between the King and the Parliament, not only prevented the increase of their trade, but left them still exposed to the oppressions of the Dutch:—That, from 1635 to 1638

1638, the King encouraged, and granted licences to Courten's Association, which became a kind of second East-India Company; the equipments and factors of which, from being under no regulations, not only invaded every branch of the London Company's trade in the East, but exposed their servants and their property, to imprisonment and seizure by the native powers:—That, in 1638-39, the Privy Council, aware of these destructive interferences, proposed a coalition, between the East-India Company and this Association; and though the King, in 1640, offered to revoke Courten's licence, and to confirm the Charter and privileges of the Company, his necessities, in 1641, obliged him to seize their imports of pepper, for which he granted them the only security, which his hard situation would allow him to offer:—and that, during the whole of the calamitous period, from 1642 to 1649, the Company were obliged to depend on the limited Subscriptions, known in their history as the First General Voyage, and the Fourth Joint Stock; which were applied to keep up a proportion of the Malabar trade; to preserve their right to the customs at Gombroon, and the grants for trade in Persian produce; to form settlements on the Coromandel Coast; to revive, by exchanges, the trade at Bantam; and to preserve that proportion of the spice trade, to which they were entitled by the treaty of 1619.

VIII.—That, from the period when the Monarchy was subverted, the London East-India Company were compelled (not knowing in whom the sovereignty might ultimately be vested) to keep

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keep out of view, as much as might be practicable, the subject of their Charter and exclusive privileges; to wave any questions respecting the intrusions of Courten, and the other Interlopers, which had arisen in England, during the weakened period of the late reign; and to preserve, by temporary additions to their stock, the public opinion of the importance of the East-India trade; while their servants, abroad, were exposed to depredations and imprisonment, occasioned by the irregularities of these Interlopers, and by the predominant fleets of the Dutch:—That, in 1649-50, when Courten's Association assumed a new character, by establishing a colony at Assada, the East-India Company applied to the Council of State for an Act of Parliament to encourage their trade; but were compelled to coalesce with these Assada Merchants, and to form, for the support of the East-India trade, what was termed an United Joint Stock:—That, after this Union, they presented a series of petitions to the Council of State, and to Parliament, for redress of the grievances they had experienced from the Dutch, and, as the war with Holland approached, entered into the views of the Protector, by opening a Subscription, to fit out an armament to be sent to the East-Indies, to obtain, by force, that reparation for the massacre at Amboyna, which had, in vain, been sought by negotiation.

IX.—That, in 1654, when the Protectorate was established, and a compensation (though inadequate) obtained from the Dutch, by the treaty of peace, and when the London Company expected

expected to be supported in their Charter and privileges, Cromwell and the Council of State granted commissions or licences to a more formidable domestic rival (the Merchant Adventurers trading to the East-Indies), than any to which the Company had, hitherto, been exposed:—That, notwithstanding petitions to the Protector and his Council, both by the Company, and by the Merchant Adventurers, their claims were, for a time, left undecided; partly from the prevalence of innovation, and partly from the claims of the successive stocks of the East-India Company, for proportions of the compensation recovered from the Dutch:— but, during this period, both the Company and the Merchant Adventurers fitted out shipping, and sent stock to be invested in the Indian trade, which had the effect of creating an opinion, both in Holland and in the East-Indies, that the London Company had been dissolved: this, in the former, led to the idea that the English fleets were to be sent to bear down the Dutch settlements in the East-Indies; and, in the latter, to suspensions, and, in some cases, to the loss of those privileges, which the Company had purchased from the native powers.

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X.—That though, for two years, Cromwell listened to the applications of the Merchant Adventurers, and hesitated, whether he should withdraw their exclusive privileges from the London East-India Company, and though he had, during this period, granted licences to the Merchant Adventurers to fit out equipments for trade to the East-Indies, yet the Council of

CHAP. I. RESULTS. State, on the fullest examination of the subject, decided, that the trade to the East-Indies could only be carried on, by a chartered Company, on a Joint Stock, and with exclusve privileges; and, therefore, notwithstanding the Company's rights had been infringed, they neither were lost, nor their Charter dissolved: and it is a most interesting fact, that, in the whole of this investigation (though the Monarchy, from which the Company had derived their Charter, had fallen), it was never once doubted that this Charter was valid and permanent, but that it was a subject of speculation only, whether the East-India trade might not be conducted, on a more extensive and profitable scale, by Merchant Adventurers, licenced to make experiments of an open and unrestrained commerce, on their own capitals.

XI.—That the immediate effect of this decision of Cromwell, and of the Council of State, was to relieve the London East-India Company from that domestic competition, which had proved as destructive to them, as to the private merchants who had engaged in it; for a Coalition took place, between the Company and the Merchant Adventurers, which united their stocks, and formed that large fund, upon which the trade was again to proceed, with increased exports and shipping, and new powers to reclaim their interrupted grants from the native states, and to re-assert their rights against the encroachments of the Dutch; whose farther aggressions obliged the Company to renew their petitions to Cromwell, and to

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the Council of State:— The death of Cromwell, at the time those petitions were under consideration, again threw the Company into that embarrassment at home, which, for two years, rendered it dangerous for them to give instructions to their Presidencies and factories, and left their servants, abroad, in that degree of uncertainty, which compelled them, instead of dispatching the homeward fleets direct to England, to order them to proceed to successive stations, and await intelligence, whether the property with which they were entrusted, could be brought to the country, in which the owners might expect to receive it. At last, happily for all parties, the Restoration of King Charles II. was accomplished; and the Company obtained from the legal Sovereign, a confirmation of their Charter, and of their exclusive privileges, nearly in the terms in which they had originally been granted.

XII.—That it has been proved, from the Annals of the London East-India Company, from its establishment by Queen Elizabeth to its restoration by King Charles II., that the East-India trade of England could only be conducted, either in shipping, or factories, on a Joint Stock, protected by a Charter of Incorporation and exclusive privileges:—That the successive speculations, founded on theories of open trade, to the East-Indies, either by the lesser equipments of particular merchants, (while the Company's trade was matter of experiment, only) or by Associations of Merchants, pretending to open trade in countries, within the Company's limits, in which factories had not

CHAP. I. RESULTS. not been established, or by the more immediate infringements on their privileges, by larger Associations (Courten's Association, the Assada Merchants, and the Merchant Adventurers), have uniformly occasioned to the London East-India Company, sometimes the interruption, and, at other times, the exclusion of their trade from particular ports, at which they had purchased privileges or established factories; but, with the same uniformity, terminated in the bankruptcy of these speculators, or (to save themselves from this ruin) *in the* necessity of merging their funds in the Joint Stock of the London East-India Company. Hence, neither during the Monarchy, nor during the Interregnum, the rights of the East-India Company to its "*dead stock*" of forts, factories, or privileges of trade, obtained or purchased from the Native Powers, were, at any time, or under any circumstances of State, ever questioned by Government.

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